

GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

MAY 1944



C O N T E N T S

SAMSON AND THE LION, A SCOTTISH RELIEF WITH IRANIAN AFFILIATIONS, BY WOLFGANG BORN. ¶ MAN AND ANGEL, BY FRITS LUGT. ¶ A TIBETAN PAINTING IN THE FREER GALLERY, *THE PARADISE OF BHAISAJYAGURU*, BY SCHUYLER VAN R. CAMMAN. ¶ AMERICAN ART THROUGH FOREIGN EYES, BY RUTH BENJAMIN. ¶ AN UNUSUAL CHINESE BRONZE SCULPTURE, *THE THREE GOVERNORS OF TAOISM*, BY ALFRED SALMONY. ¶ BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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NEW YORK—NINETEEN EAST SIXTY-FOURTH STREET

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FIG. 1. — Powder horn, carved, dated 1678. — National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

SAMSON AND THE LION

A SCOTTISH RELIEF WITH IRANIAN AFFILIATIONS*

AN oak panel dated 1600, from a door at Annisfield Castle, Dumfries, bearing the Charteris arms and now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, shows a relief of a bearded man rending the jaws of a lion (Fig. 2). Man and beast stand confronted, the lion clawing its opponent's leg with a hind foot.

The man wears the typical costume of the period, a short doublet with a lace collar and knee breeches — but the style of the carving is distinctly archaic. Thus the man's nose and moustache are represented affronted, though the rest of the head is in profile. All the forms are flat and conventionalized, and details are merely suggested by incised lines. Yet the design is vigorous and expressive.

The persistence or recurrence of a pseudo-primitive style at this late date demands explanation, an explanation that will be found by tracing the history of this highly individual yet familiar theme.

The hand-to-hand contest of a man with a lion appears in Mesopotamia about

* This article is based on a paper read at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York City, September 6, 1939.



FIG. 2. — Carved oak door panel, dated 1600, from Annisfield Castle, Dumfries. — National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

3000 B.C.¹, on seal cylinders (Fig. 3)². In the Assyrian civilization the King assumed the role of the mythical hero and appears as the lion hunter, sometimes stabbing the beast as it rears before him on its hind feet; the relation of the two figures thus repeated the one of the earlier prototypes.

In the Iranian Highlands the motif played a conspicuous part at the turn of the second millennium B.C. in both Luristan and Dasht-i-Kuh, the "hero", who assumes varying characteristics, seizing or throttling a lion with each hand. Thereafter, in the Achaemenid period, the theme is portrayed in several forms, the King again appearing in a direct struggle with a single, upstanding beast³. Thus at Persepolis there is a relief from the V century B.C., showing King Darius as a lion slayer (Fig. 4). The arrangement and even the style bear striking similarities to the Scottish relief of 2000 years later.

Representations of lion slayers continue during the Parthian period, notably on seals; the slayers, however, are mounted⁴. One on a Sasanian silver plate in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (Fig. 5), approximates the Darius relief.

A series of silks, attributable to the later centuries of the Sasanian period but woven further to the west, depicts the lion slayer in a number of different poses, mostly on horseback⁵.

The "hero" throttling confronted lions rampant on either side of him likewise persists, as on the silk in the Sens Cathedral Treasury, known as the *Victor Sudarium* (Fig. 6), woven at a still undetermined center in Western Asia in the first half of the VIII century. It closely resembles the Scottish relief in both silhouette and details, save that the figure of the man is seen in full-face.

In Greek mythology the outstanding lion slayer is Hercules, who in his youth slew the Cithaerion lion and, later, as the first of his Twelve Labors, strangled the

1. S. HARCOURT-SMITH, *Babylonian Art*, New York, 1928, pl. 5, fig. 7 (Sumerian Cylinder Seal, c. 2900 B.C.)

2. C. L. WOOLLEY, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, New York, 1935, pl. 71 b.

3. P. HIPPOLYTE-BOUSSAC, *The Persian Lion*, in: "Art and Archaeology", XXVII (1929), p. 74, fig. 5 (Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) stabbing a lion, relief, British Museum). Compare also the representations of Marduk (Ashur) slaying the monster Tiāmat, dating from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-559 B.C.), and that of Ashurbanipal II seizing a lion by its tail and killing it, in the British Museum (described in: *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities*, London, British Museum, 1922, pp. 45 and 49; illustrated in: H. SCHAEFER-W. ANDRAE, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 503 and 529. The motif more frequently repeated of the king on horseback hunting a lion remains outside the scope of this paper.

4. A. U. POPE, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London, 1938, I, p. 473, Fig. 126.

5. POPE, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 205.



FIG. 3. — c. 2500 B.C. — Mesopotamia. — Impression of cylinder seal.

David, before going to fight Goliath, told Saul how, as a proof of his strength, he had smote a lion and likewise slain a bear which took a lamb out of his flock. This episode became, in the Middle Ages, an antitype for Christ overcoming the temptation of the devil and rescued from the mouth of hell⁷. A Byzantine plate in the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows David, the youthful hero, clad as a Roman and haloed, kneeling on the flank of a lion while he swings a club (Fig. 7)⁸.

The story of Samson slaying the young lion in the vineyards of Temnoth, which is told in *Judges* (XIV), was likewise used as an antitype for Christ resisting temptation⁹. A design of mixed Hellenistic and Sasanian character, evidently repeatedly woven and now represented in a number of collections, shows a youth kneeling with one knee on the back of the rampant lion while he rends its jaws. Disregarding the action of the hands, this is the pose of Mithra killing the sacred bull, but it is also found in a bronze from Pompeii, dating from the I century A.D. and representing Hercules dispatching the Keryneian doe¹⁰; it had already been developed for both this subject and the Cretan bull in the metopes of Olympia and on the Theseum¹¹.

6. S. PFUHL, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, III, p. 56, No. 227; A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1900, pls. VI, IX, X, XII, XV, XVII, LXI, LXIII.

7. MRS. JAMESON-LADY EASTLAKE, *The History of Our Lord*, London, 1864, I, p. 201.

8. O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 576 and fig. 58. Dalton suggests illustrations on the "aristocratic" group of illuminated psalters as possible prototypes of the series of silver dishes, to which the plate with the representation of David killing the lion belongs.

9. JAMESON-EASTLAKE, *op. cit.*, p. 195; W. MOLSDORF, *Christliche Symbolik der Mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 16.

10. Now in the National Museum, Palermo, see: J. RICHEPIN, *Nouvelle Mythologie*, Paris, 1920, II, p. 134.

11. C. DAREMBERG-E.SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, III, Paris, 1877-1919, p. 89a, ill. p. 88, fig. 3758, p. 91.



FIG. 4. — V CENTURY B.C. — Cast of stone relief, from Persepolis. — Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The pose was also continued for illustrations of Hercules and the Keryneian doe, notably in a marble relief identified as Byzantine in the Ravenna Museum¹². Obviously the occurrence of an identical attitude in the representation of different mythological persons suggests a common source. The unidentified youth on the Vatican silk may represent Samson, for the action of rending the jaws of the lion is typical only of this hero (Fig. 8). As we have seen, the motive of Hercules dispatching the Keryneian doe was known to Byzantine craftsmen. Thus it is possible that it formed a connecting link between the pagan and the Christian interpretation of the lion slayer.

The motif appears in a series of Romanesque sculptures¹³; it is represented in the enamelled antependium of Klosterneuburg near Vienna, which dates from 1181, and is repeatedly illustrated in Gothic wood-carvings, miniatures, woodcuts (Fig. 10)¹⁴ and engravings¹⁵, until Dürer realized the final stage in its evolution in

a woodcut (B.2) dated about 1497¹⁶. The plastic realism here adumbrates the Renaissance.

Moreover, the motif was also on occasion adapted to other symbolic purposes, notably in a tomb relief at Bamberg Cathedral, from 1237 (Fig. 9)¹⁷. The woman in this instance stands with her knees bent so that she appears almost seated, and the lion rears, resting its forepaws on her lap while she rends its jaws. This is a personification of Fortitude, one of the Four Cardinal Virtues. Later *Fortitudo* generally appears with other attributes; but sometimes she is depicted subduing a dragon which breaks through the wall of a tower. The dragon supplants the lion and likewise had Early Eastern precedents. The tomb in



FIG. 5. — IV CENTURY A.D. — Silver plate, applied repoussé and engraved, partially gilt. — Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Nantes of Francis II of Brittany, by Michel Colombe (1507) offers a well-known representation of *Fortitudo* with a dragon.

12. H. PIERCE-R. TYLER, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1932, I, Fig. 10.

13. E. DESCHAMPS, *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period*, Florence-New York, 1930, p. 47 and Pl. 49 a.

14. F. BOND, *Wood-Carvings in English Churches, I, Misericords*, London-New York, 1901, pp. 137-138; SIR GEORGE WARNER, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912, p. 72; R. EHRWALD, *Biblia pauperum, Deutsche Ausgabe von 1471*, Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, Weimar, 1906, p. 6; E. M. THOMPSON, *On a Ms. of the Biblia pauperum*, in "Bibliographica", III, (1897), p. 404; ISRAHEL VON MECKENEM, Engraving (Geisberg 7).

15. EHRWALD, *op. cit.* (impaginated).

16. V. SCHERER, *Dürer*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1904 (*Klassiker der Kunst*), IV, p. 160.

17. R. VON MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, II, The Hague, 1932, fig. 18.

In the Italian Renaissance, however, the theme lost its religious significance; it lived on in its earlier guise of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion¹⁸ (fig. 11); or Hercules killing the Cithaerion lion, for which no Classic counterpart is known. In a composition by Maderno¹⁹ based on an earlier composition by Bertoldo di Giovanni²⁰, Hercules assumes the same pose as the lion slayer on the silk and as the Byzantine David kneeling on the lion's flank while he rends its



FIG. 6. — C. 750 A.D., WESTERN ASIA. — The Victor Sudarium, silk. — Cathedral of Sens, France.



FIG. 7. — BYZANTINE, VII CENTURY. — Silver dish, repoussé. — Metropolitan Museum of Art.

jaws asunder.

Meanwhile, illustrated psalters²¹ had made the early Christian theme of David contesting with the lion familiar to the Irish, who represented it in relief on their crosses²². The art of Ireland was primitive, with Near Eastern affiliations, and the motive was treated in an archaic way. From Ireland it spread to Celtic Scotland²³, appearing, for example, in a stone relief in the Cathedral Museum in *St. Andrews, Fife* (Fig. 12), which is part of a sarcophagus dating from about 1000 A.D.²⁴ On the left is a mounted hunter repelling an attack on a flock. A man afoot, armed with a spear

18. Woodcut after Raphael by Guiseppe Niccolo Vicentino, after 1510: A. REICHEL, *Clair-Obscur Schmitte des XVI, XVII und XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Zurich-Leipzig-Vienna, 1926, fig. 37; Ivory Cameo, Italy, XVI century; C. DAVENPORT, *Cameos*, London 1900, p. 20; and many related instances.

19. A. E. BRINCKMANN, *Barock-Bozzetti*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1923-25, II, Pl. 12.

20. W. BODE, *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1922, Pl. 9.

21. Byzantine Psalters, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Grec. 139): JAMESON-EASTLAKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5; DALTON, *op. cit.*, p. 468; Anglo-Saxon Psalters: J. R. ALLEN, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the thirteenth century*, London, 1887, fig. 65, p. 206.

22. A. K. PORTER, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*, New Haven, 1931, pp. 92-3.

23. J. R. ALLEN-A. SCOT, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1933, pp. 351-353; ALLEN, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*, London, 1904, p. 279.

24. D. H. FLEMING, *St. Andrews*, Cathedral Museum, Edinburgh, 1931, pp. 3-10.



FIG. 8. — WESTERN ASIA, VI-VII CENTURY A.D. — Silk fragment.
— Musco Christiano, Vatican.

and small shield, stands inert, but the hunter rides head on against a rearing lion and is about to stab it with his short sword. The composition, including the falcon carried by the man on horseback, refers back directly to Eastern prototypes, and Oriental origins are further affirmed by other details, notably the griffin attacking an ass in the lower part of the relief.

On the right a man is standing and rending the jaws of a lion half his size, which is likewise upright. The scene represents David and the Lion, as indicated by the lamb which stands beside him as his attribute in a traditional arrangement. Obviously the Samson motive (rending the jaws) has blended with the David motive.

The group on the carved door panel from Annisfield Castle (Fig. 2) follows in essence this same model; that the hero also is Samson is indicated both by his long curling hair and by the absence of the lamp or harp which usually identify David. Instead of being an antitype, however, this scene may refer, like the Bamberg relief, to Fortitude. In any case, the ultimate Oriental origins are unmistakable, and a corresponding re-employment of Eastern motives is also found in other Scottish ornament. Thus a XV-century Scottish harp or clersach in the same Museum in Edinburgh shows, in addition to richly carved Romanesque ornament, two griffins in medallions scratched on the wood (Fig. 13), clearly derived, however indirectly, from a Sasanian textile design; and even as late as 1678 an Iranian type of pattern appears on a powder horn, likewise in

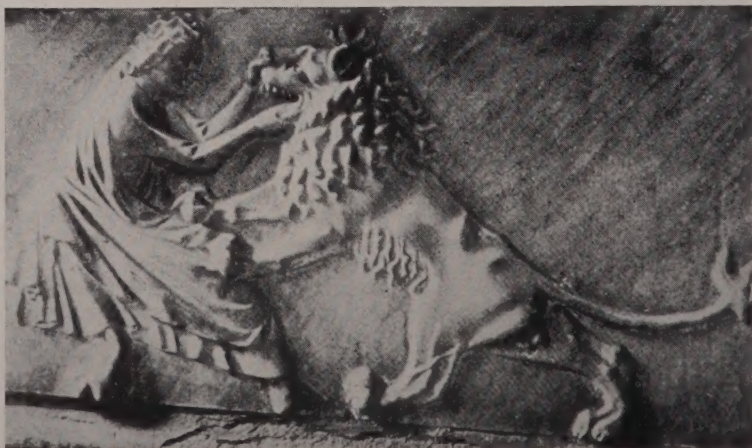


FIG. 9. — Stone relief, 1237 A.D. (probably reworked in the Baroque period).
— Bamberg Cathedral.

this Museum (Fig. 1). Here, in addition to conventionalized animals in roundels, is a lattice of interlacing stems enclosing palmettes such as appear on the capitals from Qal'a-i-Kuhna now at Taq-i-Bustan²⁵. The animals are particularly interesting; four "unicorn" bulls rotating — a type of motive that finds its closest antecedents on Sasanian seals — and a bicephalic eagle, which might have been borrowed from any one of a number of sources. Comparable interlacings are found in the X century in South Russia, whence the motif was transmitted to the West by the Hungarians²⁶, as is shown by engraved silver plaques in the National Museum, Budapest.

The late persistence in European art of these early Eastern motives, for the most part paralleling Sasanian versions of the themes, is a phenomenon of folk art, and thus an under-current in the main stream of the history of art²⁷. This raises the question of the rôle of such under-currents in the development of the arts, and suggests that a systematic history of art in "strata", including a study of such under-currents, might provide answers to many unsolved problems.

The latent life of Greek and Roman art during the Middle-ages is being studied by the followers of Aly Warburg, who have set up a research institute, now in London.



FIG. 11. — ITALY, XVI CENTURY. — Hercules struggling with the Nemean lion, ivory cameo.



FIG. 10. — Woodcut from a German *Biblia Pauperum*. — 1471 A.D.

In Vienna, Josef Strzygowski, inspired by ideas of Louis Courajod of the Ecole de Louvre, attempted the same research in what concerns the Orient. Tracing Western art forms to their Eastern prototypes, he filled historic gaps with

25. F. SARRE, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, p. 44, fig. 12; E. HERZFELD, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. LX.

26. J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917, pp. 101-102; W. BORN, *Das Tiergeflecht in der nordrussischen Buchmalerei*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I, 1932, pp. 80-83; idem, *Textilornamentik*, in: CIBA-RUNDSCHAU, 36, 1939, pp. 1336-1340.

27. G. SWARZENSKI, *Samson Killing the Lion, a Medieval Bronze Group*, in: "Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts", Boston, 1940, pp. 67-74.



FIG. 12. — c. 1000 A.D. — St. Andrews, part of a sarcophagus, cast of stone relief. — National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

the ingenious but not always conclusive speculations of his mind.

In Strzygowski's former Institute at the University of Vienna, his theories were eventually developed into a promising new approach to the art studies — art geography — by his best pupil, Heinrich Glück, who died prematurely in 1930 before he could complete his task.

Warburg's and Strzygowski's schools contributed basic elements to a "stratigraphic" interpretation of the history of art which is a useful complement to Wölfflin's "developmental" method.

WOLFGANG BORN.

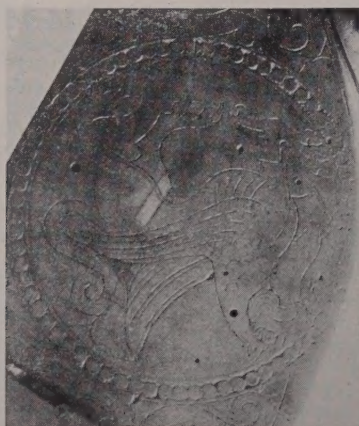


FIG. 13. — c. 1500 A.D., SCOTTISH. — Detail of an incised wood harp. — National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.



FIG. 1.— Middle IV Century.— Fragment of mural decoration.— Catacomb under Vigna Massimo, Rome.

MAN AND ANGEL

I

ARTISTS live by their eyes; so do art historians. What would our work mean without the use of our eyes, though we sadly lag behind in power of execution? Even the inner eye, the mind's eye, we have in common with the artist, our part being generally more modest than his. Yet it is remarkable how all of us are subject to certain conceptions and how, in some respects, we can forget the use of our outer as well as our inner eye. The whole human race is likely to accept blindly certain convictions handed down from generation to generation until suddenly we notice that it is shaken from its passivity by another view. In the field of science the instances are readily at hand, and even in our lifetime we have assisted at the change of so many notions, especially in physics and medicine, that they need not be recalled here. But also in the more imaginative field of fiction, of poetry, and of religion our ideas easily become mere conventions which occasionally require revision. We need not go so far as to question the value or the existence of angels. They are a notion so dear to us and we meet so many persons who come near to that ideal (also others who rather belong in the class of the fallen angels degraded to evil spirits), that

1. This article gives the substance of a talk which was scheduled for the canceled meeting of the College Art Association at Baltimore in January, 1943.



FIG. 2. — Early IV Century. — Part of mural decoration. — Tomb of Vincentius and Vibia, Via Appia, Rome.

none of us should want to forsake it.

In the fine arts, however, a notion requires some expression in form. So this article will be confined to the outward appearance of those celestial creatures whom no man has ever set his eye upon. If the question should be raised, "What is the main characteristic of an angel?" the answer will be invariably, "Wings". We have all become so accustomed to this feature that we think it indispensable. Certainly it is indispensable as soon as our own fantasy tries to put on wings in our longing for realms which mostly remain denied to man. St. John, Dante, Vondel and Milton are among those whose imagination has soared the highest; their angels cleave the space between heaven and earth on the stateliest wings, leaving a track of gold dust in the crystalline empyrean. But what these writers evoked spiritually does not always lend itself to visual representation. The attempts which artists have made prove this. Think only of the quaint scenes from the Apocalypse in the remarkable series of tapestries of the second half of the XIV century, kept at Angers (France), and of the illustrations of that same book of Revelation engraved by Albrecht Dürer and by Jean Duvet. All are extraordinary but bewildering in their precision. Poetic imagination seldom allows such visible comment. We wonder what the blind Milton would have said had he been able to see the illustrations invented for his *Paradise Lost* by the romantic William Blake and the clever Gustave Doré. What the poet often impressively suggests and agreeably disguises risks being turned into incongruity by the artist. The angels of these visionary writers have at any rate



FIG. 3.—First half V Century.—Joshua and the Angel, mosaic.—S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

much spiritual impoverishment. The beautiful creatures of Fra Angelico, Melozzo da Forlì, Perugino and their hundreds of followers, up to Burne-Jones and Maurice Denis, have so impressed upon us an ideal of charitable femininity that we entirely forget man's earlier conceptions of angels. In this respect art has outrun the church.² Through our retrospective telescope we can trace angel-like figures back to that focus of our life: the ancient Near East (Mesopotamia and Egypt), and to that dim period in which pre-history and history blend. Naturally we have to be satisfied with later developments, the first indications being too vague. In clearer historic times we observe two facts which contradict our feminine angel-type: the reputed sexless nature of the angels in the Mahomedan church and the markedly male conception of God's messengers in oldest Jewish times.

Only these important groups of angels will be considered in this survey. We shall leave aside, without regret, the

2. As early as the IV century (Council of Laodicea, 375) and again in 492 the church had to combat an excessive worship of angels. Different saints and popes especially condemned it. In 787 angels became officially recognized, but with restrictions. In 1215 the Council of the Lateran decided that angels are incorporeal, and as such *invisible*, incorruptible, and immortal. Already in the New Testament we find two warnings against the adoration of angels (Letter to the Colossians II 18 and Apocalypse XXII 9). For illustrations of the Book of Revelation see: M. R. JAMES, *The Apocalypse in Art*, 1931.



FIG. 4.—Ms. VIII Century.—Joshua and the Angel.—Vatican, Rome.

a great nobility, entirely different from the sweetness and elegance to which the artists, from the early Renaissance on, have accustomed us. Lovely and charming as such angels may be, they are the product of an emotionalism which has been responsible for



FIG. 5. — Late IV Century. — Sarcophagus with scenes from the life of St. Peter. — Fermo.

swarms of pretty winged youngsters, the putti of the Italian Renaissance, who are simply foundlings of the Greeks and Romans and perfect strangers in the Bible. By their playfulness they have introduced themselves everywhere, at the most solemn moments, and we can only smile at them. Nor shall we draw too near to the cherubim and the seraphim, for the simple reason that they are too remote. They are reputed to dwell nearest to God and their fantastic descriptions in Christian literature vary from burning ardors to creatures with four heads and six wings, covered with eyes, impossible to represent.³

We shall therefore confine ourselves to those angels who have become personalities in the Biblical stories written by people belonging to a race which did not express itself in art. Consequently all the representations date from later periods and are by non-semitic artists. Having noted the difference in conception

3. When nevertheless this was attempted the results are embarrassing, see e.g. the Tetramorph represented in a byzantine mosaic in the convent of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, and the creatures painted by Giov. Bellini in his San Giobbe altarpiece, reproducing a mosaic on the niche over the Madonna. The most generally known failure is Raphael's representation of the vision of Ezechiel; even that great artist could not solve the problem which had already worried the byzantine and romanesque miniaturists six to four centuries before. William Blake fared no better three hundred years later. The mentions of cherubim and seraphim in the Old Testament (e.g. Exodus XXV 18-20, XXVII 9, Isaiah VI 2, Ezechiel I and XLI 18-20) don't help us out. They are not descriptive enough. Only recently have excavations in Palestine and Syria cleared up that the cherubim of the ancient Jews (period 1300-800 B.C.) were winged human-faced animals, an intermediate form between the wingless sphinx of the Egyptians and the winged bull of Assyria and Babylonia (see the vignette at the end of this article). Two such creatures must have protected the Ark of the Covenant, instead of the angel-like figures imagined by our Bible commentators. Already in Flavius Josephus' time (1 century A.D.) this was forgotten; he writes of the cherubim: "no one can tell what they were like". Their re-established appearance is after all in accordance with references in early Greek and Roman literature to winged griffins which guarded the treasures in foreign lands. In the light of the recent discoveries the etymologists will now perhaps concede that the Hebrew word *k'rub* could be of the same stem as the Sanskrit *gribhi*, the gothic *gripan*, the Persian *grifan*, the German *Greif*, and the English griff(in),—and mothers might become a little more careful in calling their babies cherubs. See the descriptions and reproductions in H. G. MAY, *Material remains of the Megiddo cult*, 1935, p. 16 and pl. XIII, J. W. and G. M. CROWFOOT, *Early Ivories from Samaria* [ninth century B.C.], 1938, pl. V-VII, GORDON LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories* [twelfth century B.C.], 1939, pl. 1, 2, 3, and 7; also W. F. ALBRIGHT in: *The Biblical Archaeologist*, I, 1938, no. 1, and IV, 1941, no. 2, p. 24, and DHORME AND VINCENT in: "Revue biblique", XXXV, 1926, pp. 328 *passim* and 481 *passim*. The seraphim seem to have been serpent-like winged figures, also quite different from what later artists imagined.

between the Renaissance angels and those described in the Script, we naturally turn to the oldest representations we have, those in the so-called Early Christian art. Despite its name the art of the first centuries of our era is more pagan than Christian; but, with respect to angels, we find a marked originality, notably in the IV century.

In the earliest catacomb paintings there is a remarkable absence of angels and a preference for symbols like the fish, the dove, the lamb, the pelican, etc. This was probably a natural reaction against the hosts of winged genii, victories, famae, and glories which crowded the decoration of pagan buildings. Those winged figures were either purely ornamental or emblematic. It is natural that the early Chris-



FIG. 6. — IV Century. — Christian sarcophagus. — Lateran, Rome.

tians did not identify them with the spiritual messengers of God mentioned in the Old Testament and the Gospels. The Christians of the first centuries stood nearer to Jewish and Biblical conception of these figures, and we should not forget that the oldest versions of the Script generally speak of a "man of God" where we have accustomed ourselves to say angel.⁴ This male conception must have been one of

4. The word has obtained a much wider sense than the original Greek *angelos* from which it is derived and which meant messenger. We take it now to designate all supernatural beings, also those who did not come to man as special messengers from the Almighty. In the Old Testament the "man of God" is indicated as *Mal'akh-Yahweh* by which an appearance or manifestation of Jehovah in the form of a man is meant, but also Jehovah alone. For the delicate interpretations see: F. STIER, *Gott und sein Engel im Alten Testament*, 1934. The Assyrian and Babylonian influences account for a gradual development in the conception. Grades and distinctions, often reflecting Persian militarism, are introduced (see: F. CUMONT, *Les Anges du Paganisme*, in: "Revue de l'histoire des religions", 1915, p. 159-182) and evil spirits like Beelzebub and Asmodeus (the Persian *Aēshma Daēva*) appear on the scene. As the same influence was effective in Greece, it further modified the Jewish convictions when Greek civilization dominated in the Near East after the fall of Persia. Gradually the imagination became so crowded with spirits and demons that in early Christian time people felt their presence everywhere (see: M. DIBELIUS, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909, and J. B. FREY, *L'Angélologie juive au temps de Jésus-Christ* in: "Revue des sciences philos. et théol.," 1911, p. 75-110). No wonder then that angels are quite prominent in the Apocalypse, and that the



FIG. 7. — XII Century. — Habakkuk carried to Daniel in the lions' den, miniature. — Admont.

bolizing the Tigris where the fish was caught is seen on the right. The nude young man on the left is Daniel in the lions' den, whom we shall meet again. Even if one goes further in the interpretation and sees Christ in the standing figure of the companion, the painting remains much nearer to the intention of the story than do the representations we shall discuss later.

The Via Appia catacomb painting (Fig. 2), which dates from the beginning of the IV century, is still clearer, thanks to the inscriptions. On the left the deceased,

idea of the guardian angel appears in the New Testament. The belief so developed that in the late V century the whole hierarchy of the angels was carefully classified and described by Dionysius the Areopagite about 500. A vivid and curious reflection of his division in three classes each of three-fold ranks is found in the altar of King Albrecht in Vienna (1438-1440) in which the Virgin is repeatedly represented amongst different groups of angels, one even fully armed (see: W. SUIDA, *Oesterreichs Malerei in der Zeit Erzherzog Ernst u. König Albrecht II*, 1926, and in: "Parnassus" 1939, December, p. 5). The most poetic description of the nine angelic hierarchies is found in the 28th Canto of Dante's *Paradiso*. The poet, who is often so remarkably descriptive, observes a noble restraint whenever he comes to speak of angels. He is mainly struck by their radiance, their faces in flames, and their diaphanous appearance (Canto 31). In the *Purgatorio* Dante is repeatedly faced with angels, but each time he avows that the brightness is too much for the human eye; he is overpowered, dazzled. The angel of abstinence (Canto 24) glows as a furnace and his wings waft ambrosial fragrance.

4a. Safe perhaps for a vague allusion to the flying of Gabriel in the Hebrew text of the book Daniel (IX 21) which is already of the II century B.C. Compare the Septuagint and Vulgate translations.

the reasons why the early Christians avoided all identification of their angels with the pagan *niké* (the winged victory) who was always female. In the Old Testament the angels behave like men; they speak and walk, and often eat and drink. Never is there any specific mention of wings.^{4a} There are even passages where the text says expressly that there was nothing heavenly in the appearance of such a messenger. Take, for instance, the story of Tobit, so popular from early times until the XVII century and later discarded by the modern Protestant world. (It still figures in the Catholic Bible.) The text stresses that young Tobias' companion, who was in fact the archangel Raphael, did not reveal his identity. We reproduce (Fig. 1) part of a mural decoration of the IV century, in one of the catacombs in Rome, where we see in fact young Tobias catching the fish in the presence of his wise companion represented as a man without wings. The river-god sym-

a certain lady Vibia, is introduced into heaven by an unwinged angel (there is an indication over his head: *angelus bonus*) who leads her to the banquet of the beatified. Without the inscription we would hardly have guessed the meaning of the figure, but the Romans of that time must have understood.⁵

The earliest mosaics with angels are those in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; they were first believed to date between 352 and 366 but are now assigned to the time of Pope Sixtus III, 432-440. The angel in one of these compositions, with Joshua, (Fig. 3) is only indicated by a nimbus (a spiritual distinction taken over from paganism), but is without wings. The subject is Joshua before Jericho perceiving a "man" (as the text says) and not knowing him, asking: "Are you of our army or of the enemy's?" This question would have been unnatural if the man's superhuman nature had been revealed by wings. Yet they were added, not exactly in the interest of probability, by a miniaturist in an early manuscript of the VIII century (the Joshua roll in the Vatican), who copied possibly a much older manuscript conceived in the style of the mosaic (Fig. 4). The angel's answer to Joshua's question as to whether he belonged to the enemy's army was: "Nay, but as prince of the host of Jehovah am I now come". Joshua would have guessed that immediately if the archangel had been winged as in the miniature. We also notice in the miniature that the nimbus was not reserved for heavenly creatures only, as the preceding illustration might make us believe. The miniaturist accorded it also to Joshua.

Early mosaics have often disappeared, because they have either deteriorated or been replaced by later decorations; but sculptured works were more lasting. In them we find many instances of wingless angels such as in a sarcophagus of the late IV century, kept at Fermo and decorated with episodes from the life of St. Peter (Fig. 5). In the last compartment we see the apostle led away from his prison by the angel, represented as a young man.⁶

5. This tomb is not strictly Christian but belongs to a syncretistic group in which paganism and Christian find it also on the silver box, said to be of the IV century to the Sabazio cult which believed in the hereafter.

6. Often the only distinction of these men-angels was a staff. We saw it on the Joshua mosaic and we find it also on the silver box, said to be of the IV century, preserved in the San Nazaro church at Milan (reproduced by J. WILPERT, *Die Röm. Mosaiken und Malereien, IV-XIII Jahrh.*, II, p. 926, by W. NEUSS, *Die Kunst der alten Christen*, 1926, p. 143, and by R. DEL-

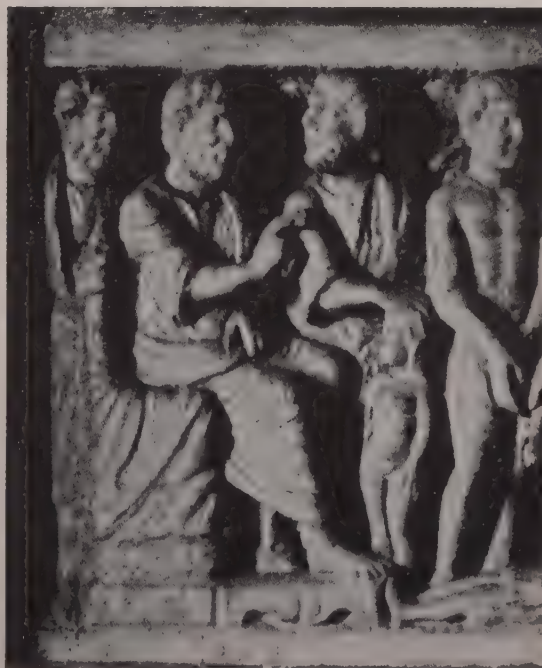


FIG. 8. — IV Century. — Christian sarcophagus (detail of Fig. 6). — Lateran, Rome.

More remarkable but also more problematic on account of its special manner of representation is the so-called dogmatic sarcophagus, also of the IV century, preserved in the Lateran at Rome (Fig. 6). The naked figure in the lower middle is Daniel in the lions' den (see the two seated lions on his right and left). This is a very frequent motif of decoration in early Christian art on account of the parallels this prophet's agony offers with the perils to which Christ, St. Peter, and the martyrs in the Roman circus were exposed. Daniel, like the prophet Jonah, Noah, and the three youths in the burning furnace, represent the symbol of deliverance and salvation. As such he is often mentioned in the prayers of that period. Daniel's figure has declined for us in impressiveness, especially since we know more about the late origin of the book of Daniel (written nearly four centuries after his lifetime), and its largely fictitious contents in imitation of the Joseph story. Most of us are consequently still less familiar with the passages from the apocryphal parts of that book, which are of an even later date (about 100 B.C.). One of them tells that when Daniel was in the lions' den an angel miraculously transported the prophet Habakkuk loaded with food from the Palestinian harvest fields to Babylon and that Daniel was thus saved from starvation amongst the wild beasts. A miniaturist of the XII century illustrated this miracle in a curious miniature (Fig. 7). The story is amusingly explicit, and tells that when Habakkuk protested to the angel's instructions by saying that he did not know the way to Babylon and still less the location of the lions' den, the angel took him by his hair and thus carried him swiftly to his destination.⁷ This is rep-

BRUECK, in vol. IV of the *Antike Denkmäler*, 1927). One of the subjects represented on that box is the angel (a young man holding a staff) protecting the three youths in the burning furnace. We should add, however, that the authenticity of this box has been strongly contested by Prof. C. R. MOREY (see: "American Journal of Archaeology", 2d series, XXIII, 1919, pp. 101-125, and XXXII, 1928, pp. 403-406), who thinks it a forgery of the XVI century.

7. The miniature here reproduced is from the large size Bible (*Riesenbibel* or *Gebhardsbibel*) preserved in the monastery of Admont in Austria (see: P. BUBERL, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, IV, Steiermark, 1911, pl. IX). Of the same period, XII century, is a fine early French miniature reproduced by C. OURSEL, *La Miniature du XII^e siècle à l'Abbaye de Cîteaux*, 1926, pl. XLVI. An even more curious representation of the XI century is found in the Bible of San Severo, in the Bibliothèque Nationale



FIG. 9. — IV Century. — The Holy Women at the tomb of Christ, ivory. — Munich.



FIG. 10. — IV Century. — Christian sarcophagus, Constantinople.

resented on the sarcophagus on the right of Daniel and, curiously enough, the angel is in the shape of a bearded man.⁸ That same type of man occurs again in the upper zone of the sarcophagus on the left and right of God the Father creating Adam (Fig. 8). These three bearded men of the same type have also been explained as the Trinity,⁹ but even in that case the curious angel type would remain for the Daniel group. After all, bearded, wingless angels, so different from the later effeminate type, should not entirely surprise us. When one or two millennia hence excavations are conducted by our descendants in Salt Lake City, they will come across a decoration in the Holy of Holies in the Temple, representing Joseph Smith receiving the revelation of the Mormon gospel from the angel Moroni, bearded like the one on the Roman sarcophagus. We are at liberty to

in Paris, 8878, fol. 233 (repr. in: MANUELA CHURRUCA, *Influjo oriental en los temas iconográficos de la miniatura española*, 1939; see also: L. DELISLE, *Mélanges de Paléographie et de Bibliographie*, 1880). Quite amusing is the primitive miniature from a Spanish manuscript reproduced by CLIFTON HARBY, *The Bible In Art*, p. 123. In later times the subject became rarer, but we still find it in a woodcut by H. Holbein. — From early Christian times we may here cite the following examples to which Prof. E. CAPPS, JR. called our attention: (1) a sarcophagus at Brescia where the prophet is suspended in midair by the hand of the angel soaring in a starry sky (GARRUCCI, V, pl. 323-2; CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne*, 1924-1938, I 2, col. 3012, fig. 1042); (2) an ivory pyxis in the British Museum, on which a winged angel pulls Habakkuk by the hair (DALTON, *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, pp. 55-56, no. 298); (3) an ivory pyxis at Trier, as the foregoing from the VI century, and with a similar representation (W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 1916, no. 50, pl. VII a and b, and *Kat. des Röm.-Germ. Centralmuseums*, no. 7); (4) a fragment of a bone comb on which Habakkuk is seen swooping through the air, with his plate of food, but without the angel, IV or V century, Museum at Hippone (CABROL-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.*, IV 1, col. 233, fig. 3582).

8. There is a similar bearded man on Daniel's left whose presence has always embarrassed the archaeologists. Sometimes both have been explained as the Holy Ghost and the Son of God (TH. ROLLER, *Les catacombes de Rome*, 1881, II, p. 266) or tentatively as the Lord (O. MARUCCI, *I monumenti del Museo Lateranese*, 1910, p. 13-14), but it should be observed that Christ figures on the same sarcophagus as a young beardless man (A. KRÜCKE in: *Märburger Jahrbuch*, 1937, p. 13). In two other sarcophagi of that period we find bearded men taking the place of angels: one at Arles (GARRUCCI, pl. 366.3) on which Daniel is again represented, and one in the Lateran (GARRUCCI, pl. 364.2) on which we see a bearded man grasping Abraham's left arm in the scene of Isaac's sacrifice. There is now a tendency to interpret the bearded man as the theological figure of the Logos, but the difficulty remains that in some scenes two or three such men are seen together.

9. The Trinity explanation emitted by de Rossi, GARRUCCI, c.s. has been emphatically contradicted by V. SCHULTZE, *Archäologie der altchristl. Kunst*, 1895, pp. 348, 349, by FICKER, *Die altchristl. Bildwerke im Lateran*, 1900, no. 104, and by CH. KÜNSTLE, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 1928, I, p. 22j, but was defended again by G. STUHLFAUTH, *Die Engel in der altchristl. Kunst*, 1897, and by J. WILPERT, *Sarcophagi christiani*, 1929-1932, II, p. 258. In his study on the sarcophagi in the "Art Bulletin", 1937, p. 148, A. C. SOPER queries the Trinity solution, and C. R. MOREY cites it as "apparently unavoidable" in his *Early Christian Art*, 1942, p. 150.



FIG. 11. — Ceiling of the Archbishop's chapel, mosaic, circa 500 A.D. — Ravenna.

reflect on the speculations which will then arise among the archaeologists of the future.

From the early ivories we should select the small IV century panel reproduced here (Fig. 9) where in the lower part the three holy women are seen before the empty tomb of Christ guarded by the angel represented as a young man clothed in a long white garment, just as St. Mark described him. Here no mention and no figuration of wings is to be found. A similar panel from this early period with the same scene and also with a wingless angel is in the Trivulzio collection at Milan, but the panel reproduced (which is at Munich) has the advantage of also showing the Ascension in the upper part. Observe the discreet way in which the divine intervention is represented: just the hand of God the Father coming out of the clouds. We

notice the same reserve in early representations of the scene of Abraham's sacrifice. Instead of the busy angel grasping Abraham's arm as in so many pictures of the XVI and XVII centuries, we see only the hand of God the Father indicating the cancellation of the performance.¹⁰

All these representations of wingless angels were quite intentional. They are the more striking when we observe that in the same period the winged figures were maintained by the Christian artists for purely decorative purposes, when such figures were not intended to personify one of the angelic ambassadors named in the Script. The fine Christian sarcophagus of the IV century (Fig. 10), which was discovered as recently as 1933 in Constantinople, shows two beautiful winged

10. That the scene in the upper part of the ivory panel represents the Ascension and not Christ on the Mount of Olives, as one might suppose at first sight, was explained by E. T. DEWALD in his article *The Iconography of the Ascension* in the "American Journal of Archaeology", XIX, 1915, p. 282 ff. The motif was taken over from representations of the apotheoses of Roman emperors received in heaven by the extended right hand of Jupiter.— One of the oldest representations of Abraham's sacrifice, with only the hand of God appearing from a cloud, is at Dura-Europos (III century). The angel which was later introduced in the scene is particularly busy on Brunellesco's relief of the bronze door of the Baptistero in Florence, on Titian's fresco in the Salute at Venice, on Rembrandt's picture in the Ermitage at Leningrad and on the one by Rubens in the Louvre. Del Sarto did not improve on the usual representation by entrusting the important message to a tiny putto (replica in the Cleveland Museum). Exceptionally some artists chose the moment after the crisis when father and son embrace each other, still impressed by the voice they heard. In those scenes there is no angel, only a supernatural glow from above, and these representations seem rather inspired by Flavius Josephus' account than by that of the Bible. See the pictures by J. Lievens (Brunswick) and D. Teniers (Vienna). In the late XIX century, F. von Uhde preferred the same interpretation.

figures remarkable for their Hellenism holding the monogram of Christ. They are the precious heritage of classicism. Very soon we see the late Roman and early Byzantine artists avail themselves again of these elegant winged figures. Decorative and illustrative aims to which the Jews had always been antagonistic and which the earliest Christians handled with so much circumspection began to prevail once more, as we see in the mosaics of the V and VI centuries so marvelously preserved at Ravenna. The ceiling from the archbishop's chapel there (Fig. 11) offers a typical example of decorative angels in the four corners and also of the winged emblem, a young man, to represent the evangelist St. Matthew; it was winged because all four emblems of the evangelists were usually presented thus.¹¹



FIG. 12. — First half V Century. — The Annunciation, mosaic. — S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

The man was probably chosen for Matthew because this evangelist dwelt most on the human side of Christ. No wonder that gradually all such figures were taken for angels and that the restraint we observed in the preceding illustrations was not always maintained. The wings proved, pictorially, to be irresistible. Only some of the greatest artists have realized their comparative cheapness and have concluded that supernaturalness can often be better expressed without them. Many ascensions and assumptions testify that floating figures without wings, in a state of levitation, discarding all laws of gravity, are more impressive and more dignified than the birdlike creatures which turn so many cupolas and ceilings of Italian churches into bustling dovecots.

11. At least since the end of the IV century. The first use of the emblems is on the apsis of S. Pudenziana in Rome (382-385); in that mosaic the youth is still naked, although winged. In subsequent decorations he became more angel-like, dressed in a white garb. A long "disputa" war had been waged before the four creatures, seen by the prophet Ezechiel in his vision and described in the first chapter of his book, were officially identified with the four evangelists (see: TH. ZAHN, *Die Tiersymbole der Evangelisten*, 1883, II, p. 257). It seems that the writings of St. Jerome, in the beginning of the V century, gave the artists full authority for the appropriation of the four creatures to the evangelists.

A curious example of overdoing and diluting can be seen already over the arch in Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 12). This mosaic dates again from 432-440 and seems by common consent to represent the Annunciation to the Virgin. The archangel Gabriel, this time impressively winged, does not come alone, but has brought five fellow-angels, all equally supernatural. This invasion, however, produces the opposite effect; we search for the explanation, unfamiliar as most of us are with the apocryphal gospel (the Pseudo-Matthew) on which, according to Prof. C. R. Morey, this representation was based. It looks as if Gabriel had brought a first-aid angel in case the Virgin should faint, or nurse angels for advice, and the angel on the right seems to be explaining the situation to Joseph, who



FIG. 13. Carolingian. The Annunciation, ivory. — Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

certainly had some reason for astonishment. The Berlin ivory (Fig. 13) gives a much more sympathetic illustration of the Annunciation. In harmony with its simplicity, the angel is this time wingless. This ivory dates from the Carolingian period (IX or X century) and most likely has not been an exception, though with the scarcity of early remains we can have no general view of it. We might, however, point to a representation of the Annunciation, also with a wingless angel, in one of the ceiling compartments of a catacomb decoration of the III century.¹² For the illustration of this particular episode the preferences must remain purely personal. The angel in this case is the real messenger of God, and the manner in which he is to be depicted is left to the artist's imagination.¹³ It is quite in the spirit of the late Gothic and the Renaissance to fit out Gabriel with sweeping, even daintily colored wings, the specimens of which are so familiar that they

12. It is rather unsatisfactory for reproduction. See: W. NEUSS, *Die Kunst der alten Christen*, 1926, fig. 26. The ivory reproduced in fig. 13 is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (see: AD. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 1914, pl. LIV, fig. 123). A similar ivory with a wingless angel was reproduced by Garrucci, VI, 459, as in the Trivulzio collection, Milan. It is of coarser workmanship and looks two or three centuries older, but its authenticity now seems subject to doubt.

13. Occasionally some artists broke with the general habit of representing the archangel Gabriel alone with the Virgin. Andrea del Sarto added two more angels in his Annunciation picture in the Pitti at Florence and so did G. B. Utile in his picture in the Faenza Museum. So also did the sculptor Andrea Sansovino in his relief at Loreto.

need not be reproduced here. Let us remember, however, that in the middle of the XIX century, a poetic mind like that of Rossetti reverted again to the simpler representation (it dates exactly from 1850, Fig. 14). To indicate the nature of the visitor, Rossetti thought it sufficient to give him a nimbus and to represent him slightly floating in the air. The Preraphaelites are not in high favor at present, but I think that no one can deny a great measure of noble reserve and simplicity to this early picture by Rossetti. His conception was as remarkable in the XIX century as was a quite different conception in the late XV, when every religious painter dreamt of a winged archangel Gabriel addressing the Virgin, either descending from heaven or kneeling before her. We can see (Fig. 15) how a Flemish artist who drew cartoons for tapestries deliberately broke with the tradition accepted by all his colleagues and contemporaries. He has been identified with Quinten Matsijs or with Juan de Flandes, and he was certainly a very original mind. One should, of course, leave open the possibility that

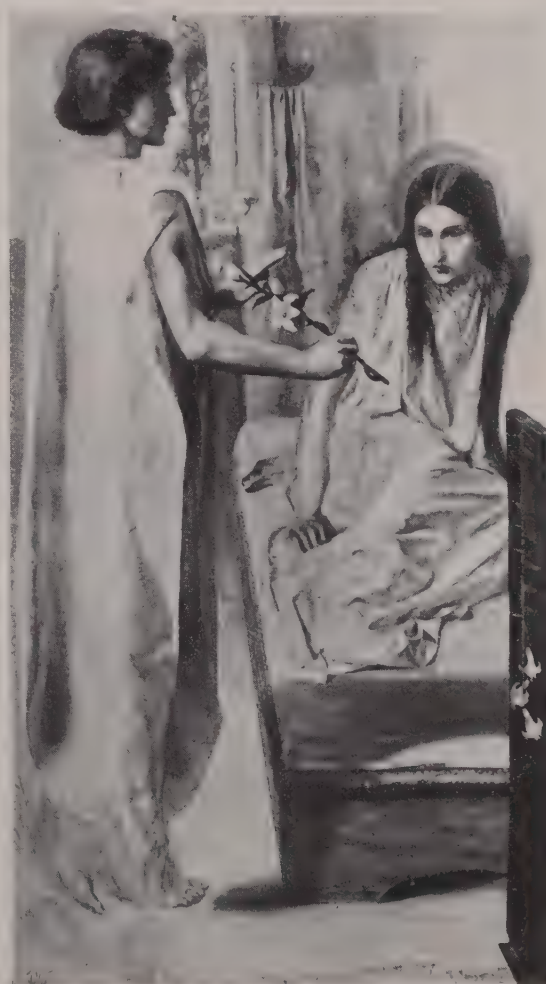


FIG. 14. D. G. Rossetti. *The Annunciation*. Tate Gallery, London.

express orders were given by the commissioners or their religious advisers. The originality of the conception in that case has only to be shifted to them.¹⁴ The tapestries, of which only the two center panels are shown here, were ordered by the Spanish Court in Flanders around 1496 and have always remained the finest and most cherished possession of the Kings of Spain. Some sixty years later Charles V took them with him to his retreat at the Monastery of San Yust, and his son Philip II also valued them highly. In this crowded composition there is no question of the usual intimacy of the Virgin's bower where she is generally seen alone, devoutly praying at her prie-dieu. She appears in the foreground

14. For lack of information we do not know how often this was the case, no doubt much more frequently than we are aware. As a fairly recent case it may be interesting to note that the Grande Aumônerie objected to the many winged putti on Prud'hon's first version of the Assumption for the Chapel of the Tuileries in Paris (the sketch of 1816 now in the Wallace Collection at London). On the final picture of 1819, now in the Louvre, the Virgin is carried by wingless angels. Also on the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

reading her prayer-book undisturbed by all the relatives, friends, admirers and symbolical figures who surround her. But the upper part of this composition should interest us particularly. There, God the Father, whom the Jews and earliest Christians never dared to represent, is seated as the center of the Holy Trinity; Christ on the left, the Holy Spirit (this time not a dove nor a double of Christ) on the right. The remarkable fact is that God the Father prepares the annunciation to the Virgin in the most literal sense: He hands a written message to the messenger kneeling at his feet, on the right, and this messenger, without wings, is the archangel Gabriel—not at all the angel of the Annunciation as he is generally imagined.



FIG. 15. — Late XV Century. — Part of a Flemish tapestry. — The Archangel Gabriel entrusted with the Annunciation. — Madrid.

On the second tapestry (Fig. 16) belonging to the same series, we see the next act. The archangel Gabriel, as a distinguished messenger carrying a kind of sceptre, but not at all heavenly in the usual sense, delivers his written message to the Virgin, who is seated in the middle. She looks up in mild astonishment from her prayer-book and again is so surrounded that all idea of privacy and of her humble secluded origin is banished. The artist, or his ecclesiastical prompter, has so much to say that we have some difficulty in following him. That he introduces among the Virgin's numerous followers symbolical figures of Faith, Charity, Temperance, and other virtues, easily recognized by the symbols the ladies carry, is to some extent understandable; that he introduces at the top, on a kind of tribune, angels mixing with civilians as onlookers, seems a less happy addition; but that the symbolism should go so far as to

introduce in the middle of the composition Christ himself, whose birth is here announced, may seem more surprising. The mystic fantasy carries the creator of these tapestries to the dangerous limit where the sublime ceases to be so.

If a case like the Annunciation can be left to style, to school preferences, or to the artist's personal discretion, the same cannot be said of the illustration of some other Biblical stories which happen to be very explicit. Take, for instance, the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel of which Rembrandt and Delacroix (to name only two of the greatest) have left us such impressive pictures (Figs. 17 and 18). In both we see Jacob fighting most determinedly a creature which by its wings is clearly marked as heavenly. Jacob consequently takes on the role of a Prometheus, of a rebel against God, whereas the Biblical text merely speaks of his fight with a "man" he did not know. The revelation that the man was an angel came only after the nightlong struggle. It cannot be argued that in these two pictures Jacob is not supposed to see the wings. Both Rembrandt and Delacroix were too realistic to allow such interpretations of their pictures; each tried to represent how, at daybreak, the angel ended the fight by injuring Jacob's thigh, which made him limp henceforth. They were so used to the figuration of an angel with wings adopted by their predecessors and contemporaries that it never occurred to them to bring their pictures more in harmony with the text.¹⁵ This discrepancy also struck Anatole France who in his *Revolt of*



FIG. 16. — Late XV Century. — The Archangel Gabriel delivering his message to the Virgin. Part of a Flemish tapestry. — Madrid.

15. Nor did this occur to the young Rubens, in the full tradition of artistic, Catholic Antwerp around 1600. See for an early picture of the same subject L. BURCHARD in *Pinacotheca*, 1928, p. 7, note III, and C. NORRIS in: "Burlington Magazine", 1940, LXXVI, p. 190.



FIG. 17. — Rembrandt. — Jacob wrestling with the Angel. — Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

then more to the middle meeting the "man" with whom he engages in the struggle, and then as third episode, the "man" always without wings blessing him. In the second picture reproduced below, we see the last episode repeated in three stages: Jacob, on the extreme upper left, asking the angel for his blessing, then Jacob receiving the blessing, and at the bottom Jacob illuminated by the blessing and the rising sun going his way to meet his brother, sure of the divine protection. The fact is the more remarkable because in the same manuscript angels who come openly as messengers, e.g. to Abraham and Lot and to Jacob himself after his leave from Laban, are depicted with wings; this shows how intentionally they were left out by the artist in the story of the fight.

16. For the sake of clearness the linear reproduction from GARRUCCI is used; the colors and the purple ground of the original would cause too much blur.

the Angels makes the Abbé Patouille lament before Delacroix' picture: "The best artists go astray when they fail to obtain their ideas of Christian iconography from a qualified ecclesiastic."

That this was deliberately done by one of the first miniaturists is shown in the illustrations from the Genesis story kept in Vienna, one of the earliest illustrated manuscripts known (Fig. 19).¹⁶ It dates from the VI century and is obviously a copy of a still older one which was in the form of a rotulus. In the narrative fashion peculiar to early paintings, various episodes are represented in the same picture. While Jacob's family and servants, on top, pass the river and then proceed to the left, we see Jacob himself, first remaining alone in the foreground on the right,



FIG. 18. — E. Delacroix. — Jacob wrestling with the Angel. — Church of St. Sulpice, Paris.

The same can be said of a carving on the famous ivory casket at Brescia of the V century (see Garrucci VI, pl. 443). But the miniaturist who illuminated the homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus between 880 and 885 already painted Jacob wrestling with a large winged angel;¹⁷ and the artist who decorated with his mosaics the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo in the XII century imagined a curious representation of Jacob begging the angel most entreatingly for his blessing after the fight (Fig. 20).



FIG. 20. — XII Century. — Jacob and the Angel, mosaic. — Cappella Palatina, Palermo.

the evil spirit of the river Jabbok, which took advantage of the darkness and prevented Jacob from using the passage. Its original meaning may have been

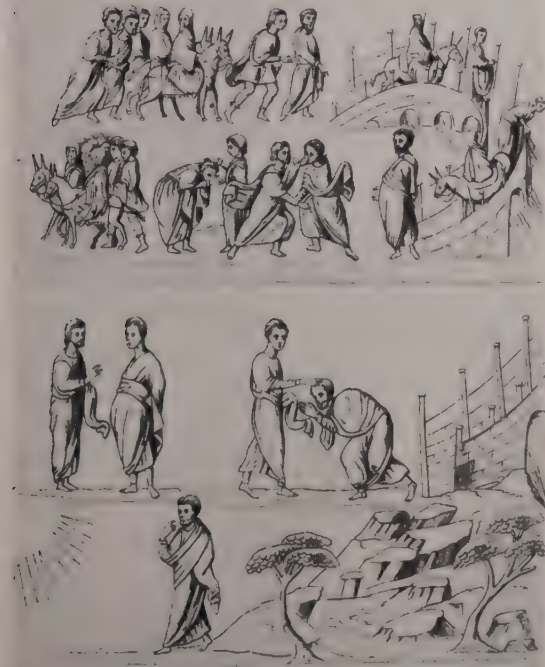


FIG. 19. — VI Century. — Jacob and the Angel, miniatures. — Vienna Genesis.

It would carry us too far to comment on the story itself, which seems to go back to a very ancient tradition about

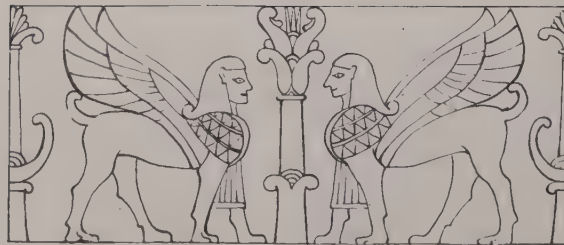


FIG. 21. — REMBRANDT. — Angel of Tobias and the Angel on the road, drawing. — Albertina, Vienna, Austria.

¹⁷. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, reproduced by H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens Mss. grecs de la B. N.*, 1929, pl. XXXVII.

somewhat different from all the interpretations to which it gave rise in later times: Jacob's great spiritual crisis, his coping with the most complicated religious problems, or even his encounter with the Messiah. But such is the fascination of vague old stories that they allow the deepest and most varied expounding, according to the changing convictions of later generations. If the written acceptations of modern days are sometimes impressive, the painted versions are rather disconcerting by their contrasting interpretations: E. A. Abbey draws a juvenile Jacob in a most unequal engagement with an immense winged angel, Eduard von Gebhardt paints a very old Jacob exhausted after the fight, Paul Gauguin turns the wrestling party into a show for dumbfounded Breton peasant women, and Jacques Patissou paints two naked men in each other's furious grip.

FRITS LUGT.



Cherubim of the ancient Jews, according to recent discoveries
(see footnote 3).



A TIBETAN PAINTING IN THE FREER GALLERY

THE

PARADISE OF BHAIJAGURU

THE fine collection of Tibetan art in the Freer Gallery contains examples of all the main types of Tibetan Buddhist, or Lamaist, painting. Of these, the most important, and the ones which best express Buddhist thought, belong to two main groups: the mandalas, rigidly prescribed diagrams which explain by figures and symbols certain basic aspects of the more esoteric teachings, and the less stereotyped pictures of single figures or groups, showing Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or lesser divinities, as they are described in the sacred writings. Of the latter group the most pleasing examples are the paradise scenes, depicting the chief personage (usually a Buddha) throned in glory, surrounded by related deities and heavenly attendants. The painting we are to consider is one of these (Fig. 1).

It represents the *Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru, Buddha of Medicine*. This mythical land is thought to be situated in the remote eastern heavens, at the opposite extremity of the universe from the Western Paradise of Amitabha, Buddha of Boundless Light. These two celestial realms, together with the Vulture Peak Paradise of Sakyamuni, the "Historical" Buddha, and the Tushita Heaven, where Maitreya, the Coming Buddha, resides, may be called the original paradises of Buddhism, and are the most significant, religiously-speaking, though later Buddhist and Lamaist doctrines provide for several more.¹

1. Among the other Lamaist paradises represented by paintings in this country are those of the Dhyana Buddha Akshobya, Yamantaka, Kuvera, Padma Sambhava, founder of the religion, and the Green Tara (Fig. 3).

Of these four, the abode of Amitabha is by far the most popular among all Northern Buddhists, and is the most frequently painted in Tibet (Fig. 2), while that of Bhaisajyaguru is least so.² This is probably because in thinking of a future life, the thoughts of the devout Buddhist inevitably turn to Amitabha's Heaven of Eternal Joy (*Sukhavati*), while in the present they think more practically of Bhaisajyaguru's reputation as the healing Buddha, who helps to cure the ailments of this lifetime. This is not to say that pictorial representations of Bhaisajyaguru—in other than paradise scenes—are especially rare. On the contrary, paintings and block prints of *sMan-bla*, as the Tibetans call him, are very common and play an important part in Lamaist medical practices.³ As we shall see, even when they depict his paradise, the Tibetans are not thinking of it as a vague though beautiful future dwelling place, as much as an allegorical representation of a concept which offers hope for the present life.

So unusual are paintings of Bhaisajyaguru's Paradise, that the writer, after studying collections of Tibetan art for several years, in this country, Europe, and Asia, has found only four outside the lands of their origin (Tibet, Northern India, and Mongolia). Counting the Freer painting as the first, the second is in the remarkable Tibetan collection of the West China Union University, Chengtu; the third, from the collection of the late Baron von Stael-Holstein, in Peking, is now stored at the Fogg Museum, Cambridge; and the last is in the collection of Henry H. Getty.

All of these differ rather widely in presentation, though they agree in principal details because they have all been based on the same Buddhist text.⁴ Of the four, only the Freer example is readily accessible to the public, and from several points of view it is the most beautiful, as well as the most satisfying iconographically. It is in fact the iconographic quality, or proper adherence to the prescribed tradition, which is the most important element in a Tibetan painting—according to their standards—and which makes for a good painting or a bad one. The creation of beauty in our Western sense, of an appearance pleasing to the eye or the

2. Sukhavati, the Western Paradise, has so greatly overshadowed the Eastern in Tibetan thought that many students of Lamaism seem to have been unaware of the latter. For example, SARAT CHANDRA DAS, one of the pioneer students of Tibetan Buddhism, writing about Amitabha's realm, called it "*The Paradise of the Northern Buddhists*", as though there were no others ("RASB", vol. 60, 1891). More recently, GEORGE ROERICH, professional enthusiast on Buddhist subjects, confusing the names of the Buddha Bhaisajyaguru and the Bodhisattva Bhaisajyaraja, while apparently ignorant of the former's own paradise, misquoted the *Saddharma Pundarika* to explain, "Those who prayed to Bhaisajyaguru or only heard his name will be reborn in Sukhavati" (*Tibetan Painting*, p. 56).

3. See R. F. G. MULLER, *Die Krankheit und Heilgottheiten des Lamaismus*, in: "Anthropos", 21, 1927, p. 988. (The author's material is rather second-hand, but explains aspects of Lamaism which deserve to be better known.)

4. Of these the Getty painting is the most similar to the Freer example, although slightly less detailed. It is handsomely illustrated in color in: ALICE GETTY, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 2nd ed., 1928, pl. V. The Chengtu painting shows other figures outside (i.e., above) the paradise scene (see footnotes 5 and 12); while the Stael-Holstein painting is an exaggerated example of the architectural type (discussed later in the text), divided into compartments for each order of divinity, causing it to approach more closely to the rigid mandala form.



FIG. 1. — Tibetan painting. — The Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru. — Courtesy of the Freer Gallery, Washington, D. C.

emotions, is only a secondary aim with the Tibetan artist, if he thinks of it at all.

The Lamaist painter has always been rather rigidly limited by tradition, even when the subject is not a mandala, every detail of which has been fixed by tradition, centuries before. For example, in painting a paradise scene, he is expected not to introduce into the paradise proper any major figure not described, or at least alluded to, in the sacred text,⁵ and all of those mentioned are required to be depicted with minute iconographic details, especially as regards color, attributes, etc. Most of these items are not specified in the original sutras, but have been established long ago by artists of an earlier age, and preserved in manuals. The primary reason for this insistence on uniformity was the desire to create and maintain standard types which would express the virtues and attributes of each figure and render them always readily recognizable to the worshipper. In fact, so strict are the rules regarding the accurate—i.e., traditionally exact—painting of sacred figures that most modern Tibetan artists, like many in the past, dare not trust their memories, and set down the outlines of the main figures by means of “pouncing” with charcoal dust through holes pricked in the principal lines of block-print transfers, which are produced wholesale at great centers like Lhasa and Derge, and distributed throughout the country.⁶

Only the color and general details of the background or setting are left up to the artist, allowing considerable freedom for his imagination. But even here he is usually expected to choose one of two traditional types of scenery, which we may call the naturalistic and the architectural. In the first, the principal figure sits on a lotus thalamus under a flowering tree, amid pleasant natural surroundings; in the second, he (or she) is seated on a more elaborate throne in a temple-like palace building, which is set in a walled enclosure, relieved at intervals by ornamental gates and pavilions (Fig. 3). Both types generally show water in the foreground—for to people of a semi-desert land, like most of Tibet, the presence of abundant water would in itself constitute a paradise. In the first type of scene the water lies in a natural pool, while the architectural scenes show elaborate, masonry lotus tanks.

The Freer example is primarily of the first type, although it has some characteristics of the second. The central Buddha in this picture is posed against a flowering tree, but his lotus seat rests on a golden lion-throne, and in the foreground is a walled tank in which the “seven gems”, or attributes of a universal

5. The artist is at liberty to place above a paradise scene the figures of his favorite Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, or the founders of his sect. Anything below, however, is considered as part of the main scene; unless depicted outside the walls of the paradise, or except when, very rarely, the paradise proper is isolated by a rainbow band, as in Figure 2, so that the lower part of the picture was also considered outside of it. Incidentally the rainbow border of red, yellow and blue silks which forms the usual mounting of Tibetan paintings has the same significance, isolating the subject from the terrestrial world.

6. In this paper, the writer is primarily concerned with the artist's mental attitude toward his subject, and his success in attaining his aim. For the means by which he attained it, i.e., the technical methods employed, the reader should consult the description in: MARCO PALLIS, *Peaks and Lamas*, pp. 334-338.



FIG. 2. — Tibetan painting. — Sukhavati, the Western Paradise of Amitabha, to which Sakyamuni compared the Paradise of Bhaijaguru. — *Courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, N. J.*

sovereign are supported on lotus flowers, as an offering to him.⁷ In other respects the scene is a very pleasing representation of an idealized landscape, showing a wide, deep blue river winding among steep, lighter blue and green mountains, which have their outlines touched with gold in the so-called "Lhasa-style". A strip of cloud-filled sky at the top completes the conception of a universe in microcosm — Water, Earth, and Sky. Against this background have been placed numerous figures, which must once have been vividly colored, but their tints have mellowed with time to produce a soft, harmonious setting for the bright gold of the eight Buddhas and the golden lion-throne.

It is these figures—the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and lesser divinities

—and their relationship to one another which "made" the picture for the Tibetan patron, whether wealthy layman or abbot, and we of the West must have some understanding of them if we are to appreciate the painting in its fullest sense.

Before even sketching in the outlines of this picture on the stretched and

7. These are: the Queen, the Prime Minister, the Marshal (note his tiger-mask shield in this painting), the Horse, the Sacred Elephant, the Wish-granting Jewel, and the Wheel, symbol of universal dominion. The selection of this particular set as a sacrifice before the Buddha was an arbitrary one permitted to the artist, as it was a non-essential detail. The Getty painting and the Chengtu Paradise, for example, both have the offerings of the five senses in the analogous position, but differently presented, while the Stael-Holstein picture has the Seven Gems, as this does.

prepared canvas, the artist—who by custom must have been a monk—was required to read the proper sutra dealing with his subject. Then when he was ready to begin the actual painting, some of his brother monks, conforming to the usual practice, probably sat around him and chanted passages from this sutra, while he ground the pigments and applied them, in order to keep him in the proper frame of mind.

The ancient Buddhist canon has two sutras devoted to Bhaisajyaguru, the main figure in this painting. One describes how Sakyamuni Buddha told the Bodhisattva Manjusri about Bhaisajyaguru's rise to Buddhahood by means of the twelve famous vows; his paradise, which the Buddha likens to Amitabha's; and the benefits to be derived by all from devotion to him. In the second, on the other hand, Sakyamuni tells Manjusri about seven Buddhas of Medicine, of which the seventh is named Bhaisajyaguru. The original Sanskrit versions of both sutras have been lost, but translations remain in both Chinese and Tibetan. Scholars still dispute over which is the oldest, for in the Chinese Tripitaka the latter follows three varying translations of the former, while the Tibetan scriptures present the latter first.⁸ But this controversy does not concern us here; all that matters to us is that the Tibetan artist chose the second as the inspiration for this painting. For the sake of convenience we may call it the "Seven Buddha Sutra", though its full title translated into English would be, "The Sutra of the Basic Vows and Merits of the Seven Tathagatas of the Crystal Glory of Bhaisajyaguru".⁹

The name of this sutra suggests the answer to a question of iconography which has troubled scholars of Tibetan Buddhism for many years. The problem has always been: if there were seven Medical Tathagatas, of whom the seventh was Bhaisajyaguru, why are seven Buddhas shown over his head in these paradise scenes, making eight in all?

In the first place, note that although Bhaisajyaguru's conventional color is dark blue, he is here shown as golden, to illustrate the reference in the sutra to the glorious light which emanates from him; and that the smaller Buddhas are also painted in gold in this picture, probably for the same reason, although they are more often shown in their usual colors. Now Sakyamuni Buddha is traditionally always represented as golden yellow, and seeing the golden figure of the central Buddha in a painting similar to this, without noticing that he held in his right hand the sprig of *myroblans*, a medicinal plant which is the chief attribute of

8. See: E. CHAVANNES, *le Bhaisajyaguru*, "BEFEO", vol. 3, no. 1, 1903, p. 35; and ARTHUR WALEY, *Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun Huang*, introduction page 36. CHAVANNES thought that the "Seven Buddha Sutra" was merely an Indian expansion of the shorter one; while ARTHUR WALEY, with what seems like better logic, has stated his opinion that the one dealing with Bhaisajyaguru alone must have been lifted from the "Seven Buddha Sutra".

9. The full Tibetan title of this sutra is *Hphags-pa de-bshin-gsegs-pa bdun-gyi snon-gyi smon-lam-gyi hkyad-par rgyas-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-pohi mdo*. For a brief synopsis of it see the analysis of the Kanjur by CSÖMA DE KÖRÖS in: "Annales du Musée Guimet", vol. 2, 1881, p. 309. The Chinese translation, which the writer read in preparation for this paper, is no 551 in Takakusa's edition of the *Tripitaka*. (NANJIO says that this agrees with the Tibetan version: NANJIO, 172.)



FIG. 3. — The Paradise of Green Tara, showing the fully developed architectural form of paradise scene, with jewel-trees, palace and park. — Courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, N. J.

Bhaisajyaguru, Dr. Waddell, one of the pioneer students of Lamaism (or some earlier scholar from whom he was quoting), was apparently misled into identifying him as "Sakyamuni". Thus in discussing the seven Medical Buddhas of Tibetan iconography, Waddell concluded by saying, "... and in the center of the group is placed as the eighth, the image of Sakya Muni Buddha".¹⁰ This tradition has continued down to the present time among Occidental students.¹¹ But the extra Buddha could not possibly be Sakyamuni, as no interpretation of the sutra could account for his presence in the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru. He is presented merely as the narrator, describing a distant celestial land to one of his disciples. He never speaks of himself as an occupant of the Eastern Paradise; and, as we have seen, the Buddhist tradition has assigned him a paradise of his own. How then could a Tibetan artist—bound by a rigid convention not to introduce any major fig-

ure not mentioned, however briefly, as an occupant of the Paradise—have included the figure of Sakyamuni?¹²

A much more likely theory is that the seven lesser Buddhas are the seven Buddhas of the sutra, all considered as emanations, or manifestations, of a single, principal Buddha of Medicine, namely, Bhaisajyaguru. (It is not uncommon for a Tibetan artist to depict a deity surrounded by other forms or manifestations of himself.) This theory seems borne out by the fact that in the representation of this paradise in the Getty collection, which shows a golden Bhaisajyaguru surrounded

10. C. A. WADDELL, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 1892, p. 346 of the second edition.

11. ALICE GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 22, remarks, "In paintings the seven medical Buddhas are usually grouped around the Buddha Sakyamuni, who is looked upon as their chief; but the central figure may be Bhaisajyaguru. In this case he is not blue, but takes on the golden color of Sakyamuni". As mentioned above, Bhaisajyaguru's golden color is given him to express his radiant glory as described in the sutra, and has nothing to do with any other Buddha.

12. As reasonably conclusive evidence that Sakyamuni is not included among this group, the Tibetan artist who did the Chengtu paradise scene painted the figure of Sakyamuni surrounded by other Buddhas and saints of his sect (the *Gelugpa*) above the paradise proper, with its traditional eight Buddhas. Tibetan artists are not inclined to repeat any one figure in the same form, except in one class of banner, painted to acquire merit, in which the main figure is repeated innumerable times in the background.

by seven small Buddhas in color, one of the latter is dark blue, the traditional color of Bhaisajyaguru, himself.¹³ This looks as though the smaller blue figure were intended to represent a lesser Bhaisajyaguru, the seventh Buddha of the sutra, considered as one form of the greater, all-inclusive Buddha of Medicine.¹⁴

The same concept was apparently once widely held in the Buddhist world. This would account for the seven Buddhas in the halo, or glory, of the famous VIII century bronze image of Bhaisajyaguru in the Yakushiji at Nara,¹⁵ which in turn was probably suggested by continental models. It is as though the Chinese or Korean sculptor had taken literally the reference in the name of the sutra to "the Seven Tathagatas of the glory of Bhaisajyaguru".

Each of the Buddhas in the Freer painting has a pair of Bodhisattva attendants; those of Bhaisajyaguru being his usual companions, Surya-prabha and Chandra-prabha, "Glory of the Sun" and "Splendor of the Moon". The former is red, and holds the sun disk supported on a lotus, while the latter is white, and his lotus bears the moon. In addition the principal Buddha has twenty-eight lesser attendants, in three groups; only one of which, the Four Kings of Heaven (lower center) can be correctly identified from Western books on Buddhism. Because the latter are so well-known, we shall leave them for a moment, and go on to the less familiar figures.

The twelve stout little men in the upper group at each side, in spite of their different colors and their slightly variant poses and attributes, are all of one general type. They are small bearded figures with large paunches, wearing the scarfs and jewels proper to a deva or bodhisattva, and each bears in his left hand the pearl-spitting mongoose usually associated with Kuvera, Buddhist god of Riches. In fact these twelve, especially when represented in sculpture (Fig. 4),¹⁶ have usually been described by Western writers as manifestations of Kuvera, placed in Bhaisajyaguru's train because of the natural association of Health and Wealth. This concept, however, is an Occidental, not an Oriental, one. Once again the true answer is provided by the Buddhist scriptures.

Both of the sutras dealing with Bhaisajyaguru tell of twelve great marshals

13. *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, plate 5.

14. There can be no possibility that we are dealing with an eighth Medical Tathagata, as the Lamaist pantheon does not provide for one. A Chinese Lamaist pantheon of the XVIII century does list two more medical Buddhas, but these are not called Tathagatas. They were first revealed to the West by DR. PANDER in his *Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, Berlin 1890, and since that time later writers, most of whom have been wholly dependent on Western sources, have quoted from him, speaking of the "Nine Medical Buddhas". It is doubtful that the Lamaists ever consider such a group, for if one consults the names listed by PANDER (p. 74) it is apparent that only seven are given the title of Tathagata, and therefore the other two cannot be ranked as equals to the seven, but must be thought of as forming a separate group of two. Significantly, they never appear in the paradise scenes or in other paintings of Bhaisajyaguru.

15. Though the *aura* is thought to be of a later date than the image to which it belongs, it conforms to the general style of the latter, and may well be an exact copy of a T'ang original.

16. Such images, though comparatively rare in this country, are not uncommon in Asiatic curio shops. They were probably cast to form part of a plastic representation of Bhaisajyaguru's paradise (see footnote 21). The American Museum of Natural History has on exhibition two such figures from separate sets, labelled as forms of Kuvera.

of a race of demons known as Yakshas, who submitted to this Buddha on hearing of his vows and his merit, offering themselves and all the Yakshas under their command, to help protect all faithful readers of the sutra in question, and all devout worshippers of Bhaišajyaguru. (In the second sutra they make the same submission to the seven Buddhas.) Since Kuvera is traditionally King of the Yakshas as well as god of Riches, it is not surprising that the Tibetans represented the marshals in his image—though they are in no sense “lesser manifestations of him”, as has been said.



FIG. 4.—Gilt bronze image of one of the twelve Yaksha Marshals (his particular attribute is missing).—Collection Lt. John Scofield.—Photo. by Ens. E. J. Rowatt.

One might protest that, while these twelve are undeniably Yakshas, they certainly do not resemble marshals, but rather, effete and corpulent nobles. However, a set of small images of them, cast in Peking during the Ch'ien-lung period, was recently discovered in one of the palaces of the Forbidden City, and on the base of each was clearly inscribed in Chinese, “Lo-ch'a Ta Chiang”, or Great Marshal of the Yakshas, along with his name as it appeared in the Chinese translation of the “Seven Buddha Sutra”.¹⁷ The writer attempted to compare the individuals of this set with the marshals in the Freer painting, but unfortunately there is some duplication of attributes within the group—one symbol being held by more than one Yaksha, so this proved impossible. Moreover, investigation has shown that the distinctive color of a given marshal differs from one painting to another. Thus it would seem that there was no fixed iconographic tradition regarding them, as there would be for more prominent figures. This is probably because of the lack of emphasis on any individual in the group, as well as their minor position in the Buddhist pantheon.

There is no doubt that the marshals in their Lamaist form are certainly far removed from the mediaeval Chinese representations of them as heavily-armored and fierce-looking warriors—the way they appeared on the Tun-huang paradise

17. W. E. CLARK, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Cambridge 1937, vol. 2, items 6A 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6B 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36 (pp. 191, 211, 212, and 215). It is interesting to note that their names in the inscriptions correspond exactly with those given in the *Seven Buddha Sutra*, except that one character (*ni*) appears on the images in its abbreviated form.

scenes, recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the Cave of a Thousand Buddhas.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the figures of the martial type were also patterned after Kuvera, for in Central Asia this divinity appears to have been considered primarily in his third rôle as a warrior king, Guardian of the North. Even in Central Asia we can find variations, however, and the Lamaist representations of the Yaksha marshals are no more out of keeping with their more familiar, military character than those shown in the IX century frescoes of the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru found by Dr. von le Coq in the ruined temple at Bezeklik, in Eastern Turkestan. There the twelve Yakshas appeared as stout burghers in the flowing



FIG. 5. — Tibetan painting. — The Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru (detail, six of the twelve Devas, Nos. 1 to 6 in the text). — Courtesy of the Freer Gallery, Washington, D. C.

robes of the T'ang court of contemporary China. They are identified only by the heads of the twelve animals of the Asian zodiac, one of which is worn by each marshal atop his Empress Eugénie headgear.¹⁹—These zodiacal animals symbolized the position of the twelve marshals as guardians over the two-hour cycles in the twelve divisions of the day; and it is significant that the concept arose in Central Asia, among the descendants of the non-Chinese people who apparently invented this form of zodiac centuries before.²⁰ The association of these animals with the marshals passed through China and Korea to Japan, but it has not survived into modern Chinese Buddhism, and seems never to have been adopted by

18. See: *Serindia*, plates 61, 62.

19. A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. 4, pl. 17.

20. See: E. CHAVANNES, *Le Cycle Turc des Douze Animaux*, *T'oung-pao*, series 2, vol. 7, Leyden 1906, p. 50 ff.



FIG. 6. — Tibetan painting. — The Paradise of Bhai sajyaguru (detail, six of the twelve Devas, Nos. 7 to 12 in the text). — Courtesy of the Freer Gallery, Washington, D. C.

the Lamaists. There is no trace of it in this painting.

The twelve figures of the second group, distributed in the lower corners, present a contrast to those of the preceding set, as each one is entirely different from the rest. A few of them individually, and all twelve collectively, are frequently depicted in other Tibetan paintings, including the paradises of other divinities.²¹ It seems all the more strange, therefore, that the group as a group, and most of its members have not hitherto been described and identified by students of Tibetan Buddhism.²²

They are none other than twelve Hindu deities (eleven gods and a goddess), representing "all the devas", referred

to on several occasions in the Seven Buddha Sutra. Their number is never specified in the sutra, and only three of them are mentioned by name.²³ At first sight,

21. Ten of them (excepting Surya and Chandra) are shown in the *Paradise of Yamantaka* in a banner at the Field Museum; while all twelve, with three additions, Vishnu, Ganapati, and a warrior-god (probably Skanda), appear on mandalas in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the American Museum of Natural History. Like the Yaksha Marshals, the twelve deva are sometimes represented in small bronze figurines as units of plastic mandalas, or paradise scenes. In helping to reclassify the Tibetan collection of the British Museum in 1938, the writer discovered a box of twenty-four miniature bronzes, representing the twelve marshals and the twelve devas. The set must doubtless have been made to be attendants for an image of Bhai sajyaguru, now lost.

22. WADDELL knew of their existence and mentions them, with minor inaccuracies regarding their names (in: *The Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 84, 366-7), but does not describe them. Though neglected by Tibetan scholars, they have long been known to Western students of Buddhism in Japan, where the group is collectively known as the *Ju-ni Ten*.

23. In modern China the scriptural references to "all the devas" (*chu-t'ien*) is usually represented by a group of twenty-four gods and goddesses; the extra members being the Four Kings, Wei-t'o (see footnote 32), and various local divinities, such as the ancient Chinese Thunder god and the Lightning goddess. (See: REICHEL, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 193-4.)

then, one might imagine that the number twelve had been chosen to correspond to the twelve vows and the twelve marshals; but it is more likely that a metaphysical reason is responsible for the choice. Eight of the gods, known collectively in India as the *Dikpalakas*, were considered in later Hinduism to be the guardians of the eight directions: *Indra*, ancient King of the gods, (East); *Agni*, the Fire god, (South-east); *Yama*, King of Hell, (South); *Nirrti*, King of the Rakshasas, (South-west); *Varuna*, the Sea god, (West); *Vayu*, the Wind-god, (North-west); *Kuvera*, god of Riches, (North); and *Isana*, better known as Siva, (North-east).²⁴ Two more, *Surya* and *Chandra*, were personifications of the sun and moon, respectively;²⁵ while *Brahmā*—known to the Tibetans as a minor god who presided over the lower heavens, rather than as the supreme deity, Wisdom Incarnate, of the earlier Hindu belief—was included in the group as representing the Sky, in opposition to *Prthivi*, goddess of the Earth, who is the twelfth. As a group, then, representing the ten directions and the sun and moon, they signify the Universe in microcosm, and it is doubtless as such that they are included in several of the Lamaist paradises, as well as being figured on, or around, some of the esoteric mandalas (Fig. 8).

It might be protested that the twelve devas have not previously been recognized because they are apparently not an integral part of the paradise scene, but merely a Tibetan interpolation; for they are not mentioned in the descriptions of the paintings of the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru found by Sir Aurel Stein and others in Central Asia. However, the fact that they were not described by the cataloguers does not mean that they were not present. As a matter of fact they are there.—A Tibetan artist would not dream of introducing such a group unless their presence were established by a long tradition.

Among the loot from the Cave of a Thousand Buddhas were two large paintings and half of a third, showing this paradise. All, incidentally, were of the architectural type, showing palaces, terraces, and pavilions, built around a pool.²⁶ Each of them has, in addition to the Medical Buddha with his two bodhisattva attendants and the twelve marshals in armor, a group of twelve smaller figures, loosely described as "lesser bodhisattvas", because they lacked distinctive colors and attributes for more specific identification.²⁷ On the other hand, it was a common convention in Central Asian Buddhist paintings to represent devas in the dress of bodhisattvas, while their smaller scale in relation to the latter indicated

24. In the Stael-Holstein *Paradise*, which, as we have remarked, is of the formal architectural type, these eight gods are placed at the sides and angles of the palace enclosure corresponding to the directions which they are said to guard, assuming the top of the picture to be East.

25. Other paintings of this type generally have the sun and moon discs at the top of the picture to complete the concept of a universe; but when the sun and moon are present, personified by gods, as here, that is unnecessary.

26. For some interesting generalizations on the Tun-huang paradise scenes by HENRI MASPERO, see *Asiatic Mythology*, p. 244.

27. ARTHUR WALEY, *Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun Huang*, pp. 62, 238, 288. Plate 61 in: STEIN, *Serindia*, shows the twelve very clearly, but they are also discernible in plate 62.

their lower rank in the spiritual hierarchy.²⁸ There is little doubt, then, that the twelve "lesser bodhisattvas" of these paintings are early examples of the twelve devas, who were not individually emphasized by specific attributes because of their minor position in the scene as a whole.

When the twelve occur in Tibetan paintings there is not the slightest excuse for overlooking them, for each figure has its own proper color and attributes, which vary somewhat from one painting to another, but are generally distinct

enough to permit easy identification. As they have not been described elsewhere, it might be well to give a brief description of each, which would help one to recognize them when they occur in other paintings.

Lower left (Fig. 5) :

1. *Brahma*: yellow, bodhisattva type, with four heads; holding a golden wheel and a vase, seated on a white goose.
2. *Kuvera*: yellow, usual form as Tibetan god of Wealth; holding scepter and mon-goose, riding a grey horse.
3. *Varuna*: white, bodhisattva type; holding a snake in each hand, riding a red makara (sea monster).
4. *Agni*: red, bearded Brahman ascetic; holding a rosary, and a flame on a tri-



FIG. 7.—Tibetan painting.—The Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru (detail, the Four Great Kings of Heaven).—Courtesy of the Freer Gallery, Washington, D. C.

angular plaque (the mystic *tri-kona*), riding a grey goat.

5. *Yama*: dark green, Tibetan demon type, with crown of skulls, etc.; brandishing a mace, riding a dark green bull.
6. *Surya*: red, bodhisattva type; supporting a red sun disk, riding in a horse-drawn four-wheeled cart.

Lower right (Fig. 6) :

7. *Indra*: white, bodhisattva type; holding a vajra, seated on his white elephant,

28. See: *Serindia*, plate 73, in which the central figure of Avalokitesvara is surrounded by attendant groups of devas, some of whom are mentioned by name in the inscriptions. Note that they are dressed like the twelve figures in the paradise scenes (plates 61-2).

Airavata.

8. *Isana*: white, bodhisattva type; holding a trident, on his white bull, *Nanda*.
9. *Prthivi*: yellow, mild goddess type; clasping a golden vase, astride a black boar.
10. *Vayu*: dark green, Tibetan secular prince type, in flowing robes; holding a banner, riding a green stag.
11. *Nirrti*: dark green, demon type; brandishing a sword, riding on a white man.
12. *Chandra*: white, bodhisattva type; holding aloft a white moon disk, seated on a flying white goose.

As previously stated, we cannot always expect to find the individual figures of the twelve exactly as shown in this painting, for the Lamaist iconographic tradition for representing them does not seem very fixed. There is considerable variation from painting to painting, especially in the color of the mounts, and sometimes in a god's own color and attributes. No matter how wide the apparent differences, however, the details as a whole will seldom be found inconsistent with those required in the Hindu iconographic manuals.²⁹ It would seem as though the Tibetan artists had full descriptions of each Hindu deity with all his variations and all his attributes, but of these, selected only enough to render the figure recognizable, without feeling the obligation to include everything, as they are such minor figures.

The last group, representing the *Four Great Kings of Heaven*, or *Lokapala* (Fig. 7), is a much more familiar one in Northern Buddhism, and as they have been described many times elsewhere,³⁰ it is not necessary to discuss them in detail, again. It is interesting to recall, however, that they were derived from the traditional Hindu guardians of the four principal directions: *Vaisravana*, King of the North, from Kuvera; *Dhritarashtra*, King of the East, from Indra; *Virudhaka*, King of the South, from Yama; and *Virupaksha*, King of the West, from Varuna.³¹ In their conventional Tibetan forms, however, the Kings have scarcely any resemblance to their prototypes in the deva group, for they are represented as armored warriors in the style which passed into Tibet from Central Asia where it originated; while each has been given a complexion corresponding to the color of the direction which he is supposed to guard, according to the Tibetan scheme of the universe: North, yellow; East, white; South, greenish-black; and West, red.

29. See, for example, the descriptions of the eight Dikpālakas in: T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1916, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 515-38. An apparent inconsistency is the substitution of a goat for Agni's traditional ram, but this can be explained by the fact that the languages of Eastern Asia use the same word to refer to both goats and sheep; and the Tibetans probably chose to represent him on a goat because this fiercer animal is more appropriate as a mount for its rather demoniac-looking rider.

30. See the author's article on the *Four Kings* in the "Journal of the West China Border Research Society", vol. 9, 1937, p. 180, for a description of their modern forms in China and Tibet; and *Serindia*, vol. 2, pp. 870-5, for earlier representations of the Kings in Central Asia.

31. Even WADDELL was apparently unaware of the derivation, and proper relation of the Four Kings to the Hindu gods, for in *Buddhism of Tibet* (p. 367) he says, "The chief (hindu) gods are made regents or protectors of the quarters; though in the later legends they have delegated their duties to subordinates, the 'kings of the quarters'."



FIG. 8.—Tibetan Mandala.—Lower portion with Twelve Devas and Three additional Hindu Deities.—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Photo by Dr. Carl Schuster.

In addition, their attributes are somewhat altered. The Northern King retains his mongoose, but has a banner in place of the scepter; the Eastern King, as he is taken from the Tibetan form of Indra (as ruler of a lesser paradise) has his Tibetan attribute, the lute, instead of the Indian vajra;³² the Southern King has exchanged his club for a sword; and the Western King has a pearl as well as the snake, an allusion to the fact that the Hindus considered Varuna, his prototype, as another god of Wealth. The Four Kings were not included in this painting merely as guardians, however. The sutra speaks of them as having been so impressed by Sakyamuni's story of the vows of the seven Buddhas that they decided to emulate them, and thus, like the marshals, they won a place in the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru.

Now that we have considered all of the figures, by groups and individually, we can see that the whole picture represents a beautiful idea; the concept of the divine spirit of Healing, capable of projecting itself in several forms, and acting through converted demons and dethroned gods of another faith, in all parts of the universe, to heal the afflicted and spread its grace. In the past, this mental image

32. Some students of Chinese Buddhism believe that the vajra-bearing Indra served as prototype for Wei-t'o, a mythical general associated with the Four Kings and one of the most popular Buddhist divinities in China. The mace (often mis-called a "sword" by Western writers), which he bears as his chief attribute, has been developed from the old Chinese form of vajra. Wei-t'o, though so common in Chinese art, is virtually unknown in Lamaism; however, a Lama painting in the Albright Gallery, Buffalo, shows him as its principal figure.

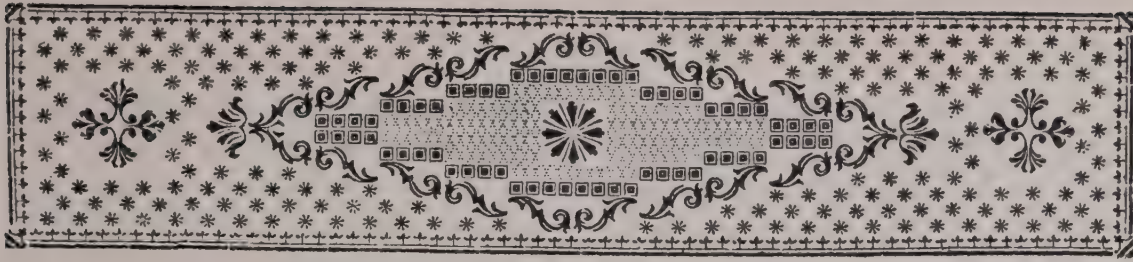
has brought relief to thousands in Eastern Asia, and it is still effective in Tibet; for Western psychologists since William James have shown us what Eastern mystics and religious teachers long have known, that a deep enough faith can cure many forms of sickness, and the belief in this Buddha and his powers is still very strong on the "Roof of the World".

To summarize our conclusions, this is an unusually well painted representation of a somewhat rare Buddhist paradise, displayed against the more naturalistic style of background. In it the artist has faithfully rendered the main figures of Bhaisajyaguru's Eastern Land as it is described in the *Seven Buddha Sutra*, though he has omitted many incidental details, such as the jewel-trees and the gem-studded palaces mentioned therein. These deletions, however, have made for the improvement of the finished composition, as the absence of the less necessary elements throws the figures into greater prominence, emphasizing their spiritual meaning in relation to each other. A careful consideration of these has revealed items of considerable iconographic interest, such as the unfamiliar Tibetan presentation of the Yaksha marshals, and the conventional, though previously unrecognized, Lamaist forms of the twelve devas, which show such a strong adherence to an older Indian tradition. Lastly, while the composition as a whole is outwardly so different from the Central Asian depictions of the same scene, we have seen that there are many basic similarities, due to the continuity of the Buddhist tradition.

Although all authentic Lamaist paintings³³ share this traditional quality, and nearly all are as pregnant with philosophic meaning for those who understand their conventions, in general they tend to be rather crudely or stiffly executed, and full of unduly obscure symbolism. It is rare to find, in this country, a Tibetan painting with such a blend of intrinsic beauty and rich, yet comprehensible, iconographic detail.

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33. One must make a clear distinction between the real and the false, for in recent years, some unscrupulous persons, here and abroad, have been taking advantage of the enthusiasm for things Tibetan to create and sell spurious Tibetan paintings. They are obviously copies of real paintings by foreign artisans unsure of what they are copying. These can easily be recognized by their dull grey or brownish tints, instead of the pure colors of real Lamaist paintings, and by their very poor drawing, which shows that there is some virtue in "pouncing" the outlines, after all. Like the "Tibetan" metalwork produced by Nepali craftsmen for the tourists in Darjeeling and Calcutta, many examples have found their way into the smaller American collections, but they have no resemblance to even the most inferior Tibetan productions.



AMERICAN ART THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

THE attitude of foreigners toward American art is one of the most bewildering phenomena in our history. It ranges from a denial that art exists at all in our country to the most extravagant exaggeration concerning the virtues of men now entirely forgotten.

Let us see what some intelligent Europeans and Latin Americans, not the professional critics alone but poets, novelists, artists, and others, have had to say on this subject throughout the years.



In the early days, when American art was essentially British, there were, nevertheless, certain differences. For instance, writers are constantly pointing out that the portraits Copley painted in the New World are much more straightforward than those he created after returning to the mother country (Fig. 1).

This homespun, forthright quality also existed in the work of other men of that time, but we could hardly expect it to impress our foreign visitors. They sought facility and urbanity. In architecture, as in painting, every resemblance to some European model delighted the early travelers. For instance, De Chastellux, at Monticello in 1782, spoke of the house that Jefferson had designed as being "rather elegant and in the Italian taste, though not without fault."¹

1. MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX, *Travels in North America*, London, 1787, II, p. 41. See also THOMAS T. WATERMAN's article on *Jefferson's early works in architecture*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", August 1943, pp. 89-101.

Henry Wansey, an English clothier, who came over here in 1794, thought the Assembly Room of a Philadelphia hotel, papered in the French taste, a most elegant room in the same style that had lately been introduced in London. The wealthy Mr. Bingham's home was magnificent, again in the best English style. Philadelphia was the London of America. Boston, which Wansey called the Bristol of the New World, was disappointing because the buildings, including the churches, were "weather-boarded at the side, and all of them roofed with shingles," while an awkward-looking railed enclosure, for drying clothes, on top of each house, gave it an odd appearance. It was only upon reaching West Boston that Wansey felt at home once more, for there the houses were all "neat and elegant, of brick, with handsome entrances and door cases, and a flight of steps." New York seemed more like a city. The architecture was better, thought Wansey, particularly the Tontine Coffee House, a large, handsome building with a portico, and the Belvedere, "an elegant tea drinking house."²

That word "elegant" appears very often in XVIII Century chronicles, denoting everything of which the travelers approved. What they did not approve, they were apt to call "crude". Perhaps it was the polish and refinement of Gilbert Stuart's portraits that made them as popular abroad as they were at home, although today we value them for other qualities. Stuart's work was so close to the British school that it was frequently taken for that of a Reynolds or a Gainsborough. His fame in his lifetime was great. Everyone wanted to own one of his portraits of Washington, and the Academy of Florence asked him to paint a self portrait for their special gallery of self portraits.

Yet, by the 1870's even London seems to have forgotten him, if we are to believe an anecdote told by Thomas Wentworth Higginson who was visiting London at a time when *The Skater* by Stuart had just been unearthed. A group that included Mr. Newton of the British Museum was discussing it with admiration one evening. "Why don't they inquire about the artist?" asked Sir Frederick Pollock. "He might have done something else!"³ None of the party could believe that his pictures were well known in the United States. In modern times Europe has become conscious of them. The German art historian Richard Muther thought Stuart a "man of independent mind" and a masterly colorist. In France Henri Focillon called him great, which was rare praise indeed.

Benjamin West, favorite painter of George III, became president of the Royal Academy which he helped to found, practically dominated British art for fifty-seven years, and was called "the American Raphael" by the Italians. He was a world figure. A hundred years later, Muther admitted West's importance as an innovator through his practice of painting soldiers in uniforms of their own time while French painters were still draping theirs in Greek togas. In *The Death of*

2. HENRY WANSEY, *Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794*, 18, 57.

3. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, *Cheerful Yesterdays*, Boston, 1898, 280-281.

General Wolfe, said Muther, West "forecast the realistic programme for decades to come."⁴ And another German, Lübke, although omitting Copley and Stuart entirely from his book, credits West with a revolution in genuine historical painting "by giving a new and vigorous impulse to historic representation through his lifelike . . . handling of battle pieces."⁵

Did West deserve all the praise he received in his lifetime? Probably not. It seems ridiculous to us to read such rhymes as he inspired in England:

"Virgilian West, who hides
his happy art
And steals, through nature's
inlets, to the heart
Pathetic, simple, pure in
every part . . .

Thou long expected,
wished-for stranger, hail!
In Britain's bosom make thy loved abode
And open daily to her rapturous eye
The mystic wonders of thy Raphael's school."

But while Leigh Hunt was noting in his autobiography that Mr. West was "happy for he thought himself immortal," the irrepressible Horace Walpole was making notes in the catalogues of the Royal Academy that seem nearer to the ultimate truth — such comments as "Bad," or "Solemn and good, tho hard and heavy."⁶



FIG. 1. — Copley. — Mrs. Seymour Fort. — Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. Photo. Courtesy of the Wadsworth Atheneum.

* * *

The cosmopolitan painters and sculptors of the XIX century, from the Peales to the painter-collector Walter Gay, usually found a warm welcome abroad, although their work was not noted for its originality.

4. *Geschichte der Malerei*, 1893, 6.

5. LÜBKE, *History of Art*, II, 565.

6. Quoted by HENRI MARCEAU in "Parnassus," April, 1938, 9.

Rembrandt Peale exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1803 and in 1808; he also met with considerable success in Paris. His brother Raphaele painted portraits too, but it was his still life that was so enthusiastically received by the French in the Jeu de Paume exhibition of 1938.

Of Thomas Cole, Turner said: "There is a young man from America named Cole, who ought to do fine things. He is as much of a poet as a painter."⁷

Cole's friend, Asher B. Durand, was able to sell his engraving of Vanderlyn's *Ariadne* in London at a time when no one in New York would buy it. Both the British and Russian Ministers to the United States pronounced it a masterpiece and purchased impressions of it.

At least two men were known in Rome as American Titians. The first was Washington Allston, friend of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Thorwaldsen. Coleridge wrote to him: "Had I not known the Wordsworths I should have esteemed and loved you first and most; and, as it is, next to them I love and honor you."⁸ Allston's best work was done in Europe, where he had a great reputation; he might have become president of the English Royal Academy had he not returned to the United States.

In William Page, the other "American Titian", we seem to have an entirely forgotten man, although E. P. Richardson, of the Detroit Institute of Arts, considers him the most distinguished American colorist of his generation and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts recently showed his *Portrait of William Lloyd Garrison* in its exhibition of Boston life and people. The little colony of intellectuals in the Rome of the 1850's considered him quite a genius. Elizabeth Browning wrote to a friend in 1854: "Mr. Page, our neighbor downstairs, pleases me much and you ought to know more of him in England, for his portraits are like Titians — flesh, blood, and soul." And in a letter introducing him to Ruskin she said: "I should like you to see what a wonder of light and color and space and breathable air he puts into his Venus rising from the sea."⁹

Others who were popular with the colony at Rome were the sculptors William Wetmore Story and Harriet Hosmer. "Our friend Mr. Story," wrote Mrs. Browning to Thackeray, "has just finished a really grand statue of the 'African Sybil.' It will place him very high." This was the statue which, together with his *Cleopatra*, was sent to the London Exhibition of 1862, Pope Pius IX paying the shipping expenses. At the Exhibition Story's works became a sensation with Victorian critics¹⁰.

These same critics fully recognized the merits of another American artist,

7. MRS. L. C. LILLIE, *Two Phases of American Art*, 207.

8. Quoted in *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 225.

9. *Letters of Mrs. Browning*, New York, 1897, II, 155, 316. For further light on Page see: E. P. RICHARDSON in "Art Quarterly", Spring, 1938, 91 ff.

10. ALBERT T. GARDNER, *William Story and Cleopatra*, in "Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art", Dec., 1943, p. 157.



FIG. 2. — MARY CASSATT. — Mother and Boy. — Havemeyer Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Charles Robert Leslie. Thackeray wrote a paper about him in the "Cornhill Magazine"; Ruskin said of him that his work was in places equal to Hogarth's "and here and there a little lighter and more graceful." Philip Hamerton wrote about him, enthusiastically: "There can be no doubt that Leslie is amongst the immortals."¹¹ Yet Leslie today is unknown except to the specialists.

However, it is not strange that many artists now forgotten were tremendously admired by the Europe of their own time, while others whom we believe to be great were neglected, for the XIX century misunderstood most of its important painters and overrated the mediocre men.

Nevertheless, there were exceptions. Although Whistler complained of the treatment he received in England

— Ruskin and others calling him a coxcomb and a tumbler — it is also true that as early as 1864 Hamerton was saying: "As a painter he has the rare faculty of *true* oil-sketching, selecting, with certainty, the most essential truths."¹² George Moore pointed out that he was the one example of cosmopolitanism in art, "for there is nothing in his pictures to show that they come from the north, the south, the east or the west;" and then went on to say that "in the *Nocturnes* Mr. Whistler stands alone," that "until he came the night of the painter was as ugly and insignificant as any pitch barrel; it was he who first transferred to canvas the blue transparent darkness which folds the world from sunset to sunrise."¹³ Frederick Wedmore and Theodore Duret wrote books about him. Salomon Reinach stressed Whistler's importance¹⁴. Henri Focillon devoted to him an entire chapter of one of his books¹⁵ and Rodin said: "Whistler's art will lose nothing by the lapse of time; it will gain; for one of its qualities is energy, another is delicacy, but the greatest of all is its mastery of drawing."

11. *Thoughts About Art*, p. 322.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

13. *Modern Painting*, p. 22.

14. *Apollo*, New York, 1913, pp. 323-324.

15. *La Peinture aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles, du Réalisme à nos Jours*, Paris, 1928, Seconde Partie, Livre Premier,

William Rothenstein, although he quarreled with him, always considered Whistler a genius¹⁶. Another Englishman, C. Lewis Hind, went so far in his enthusiasm that he really exaggerated Whistler's importance, placing him above Manet and Degas.¹⁷

Mr. Hind, who spent four years in the United States, gave a more just appreciation, I think, of George Inness, for whom he had a genuine affection. Inness exhibited landscapes at the Paris Expositions of 1867 and 1878, but it was not until the French painter Benjamin Constant disclosed his gifts in 1890 that he was understood at home. Constant took some of the sketches to France and showed them to a dealer. Writing in the "Times", he said of one of the paintings that it would, "if signed by Turner, Millet, or Corot be worth ten thousand dollars and over. In my view," he continued, "it is equal to the best landscape ever painted by any great landscape painter."¹⁸ Inness became known in Germany in 1892, where the marvels of light he created were hailed as tone-symphonies.

John La Farge, too, had admirers abroad. Seymour Haden, outspoken in his criticism of many American artists, expressed the highest regard for him. Henri Focillon considered him one of the innovators in modern art, not only in America, but in the whole world, because of his work in stained glass. As for his paintings, only Gilbert Stuart, among his predecessors, showed such rich solidity. Fantin Latour, Focillon thought, would have loved his flowers.



FIG. 3. — WILLIAM M. CHASE. — Gray Day, Venice. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Photo. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In 1874 Degas noticed one of Mary Cassatt's pictures at the Paris Salon and remarked: "That is genuine. There is one who sees as I do." Later he told Vollard that Miss Cassatt had "infinite talent."¹⁹ Gauguin said of this poetess of everyday life: "Mary Cassatt has much charm, but she has more force." Other Europeans have put her on a pedestal, calling her the equal of Degas and the most admirable

16. *Men and Memories*, New York, 1935, pp. 82 ff.

17. See his *Landscape Painting from Constable to the Present Day*, pp. 137-138.

18. As quoted in GEORGE INNESS, JR., *Life, Art and Letters of George Inness*, p. 183.

19. A. VOLLARD, *Degas*, New York, 1937, p. 48.



FIG. 4. — WINSLOW HOMER. — Sunshine and Shadow, Prout's Neck, water color. — Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson, Art Institute of Chicago. Photo. Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

American artist of the XIX century (Fig. 2).

Seymour Haden, on a trip to New York in 1882, spoke with enthusiasm of the American etchers of that time, notably Charles A. Platt, Peter Moran, Otto Bacher, and Joseph Pennell²⁰.

We are apt to think sometimes that Sargent was greatly overvalued both at home and abroad during his lifetime. It was Carolus Duran, his teacher, who said: "I am the son of Velasquez; Sargent is my son." But what William Rothenstein tells us in *Men and Memories* is more revealing. "I had," he writes, "seen his paintings . . . and admired their brilliant virtuosity, though I didn't think of him as inhabiting the same mansion as Whistler and Degas. We all acknowledged his immense accomplishment as a painter to be far beyond anything of which we were capable. But . . . we had qualities that somehow placed us among the essential artists, while he, in spite of his great gifts, remained outside the charmed circle. I was used to hearing . . . Degas speak disparagingly of Sargent's work; even Helleu,

20. F. KEPPEL, *Personal Characteristics of Sir Seymour Haden*, "Print Collectors Quarterly", Vol. I, No. 4, 1911, p. 434, and F. WEITENKAMPE, *American Graphic Art*, New York, 1924, p. 15.

Boldini and Gandara regarded him more as a brilliant executant than as an artist of high rank."²¹ That sums up the general opinion of our own day.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1889 men such as Sargent, Gari Melchers, Walter Gay, and William Chase had work that was indistinguishable from the French. The Boston Museum owns such a Chase — a little *Venetian scene* — that is more like a Boudin than Boudin's own Venetian series (Fig. 3). These men had pupils from Germany and England, were offered professorships in Royal Academies, and saw their pictures hung in the Paris Luxembourg.

"There certainly are very great American artists today," wrote Paul Bourget in 1895. "That is enough, after all, for the glory of a people." But he could not help wondering whether there would ever be an *American art*, which is quite a different matter.

* * *

As for the architecture of the cosmopolitan age, the comments of travelers are



FIG. 5. — ROCKWELL KENT, — Winter. — The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Photo. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

indeed varied. Paul Svinin, young Russian artist, was not impressed, although he thought New York City Hall a "truly beautiful building" which "could indeed be an ornament to any of the foremost capitals of Europe", and found good taste as well as good proportions in the Bank of Pennsylvania.

William Cobbett, the sturdy English politician, spending the year 1818 in the United States, tells us that he

saw farmhouses better than farmhouses in England. "More neatly finished on the inside. More in a 'parlor' sort of style."²²

In 1827 Basil Hall wrote: "The better sort of dwellings are made of square timbers, framed together neatly enough, and boarded over at the sides and ends; and then roofed with shingles, which are a sort of oblong wooden slates. The

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

22. *A Year's Residence in the United States of America*, in: ALLAN NEVINS, *American Social History*, 89.

houses are generally left unpainted, and being scattered about without order, look more like a collection of great packing boxes than . . . human residences."²³

This uniformity also disturbed Thomas Hamilton, another British traveler, visiting us six years later. The want of variety in Philadelphia houses even inspired him to verse:—²⁴

"Street answers street, each ally
has a brother,
And half the city just reflects
the other."

Dickens, who saw little good in American life, wrote of Richmond, Virginia, as it was in 1842: "The white wooden houses (so white that it makes one wink to look at them), with their green jalousie blinds, are so sprinkled and dropped about in all directions, without seeming to have any root at all in the ground; and the small churches and chapels are so prim and bright and highly varnished; that I almost believed the whole affair could be taken up piecemeal like a child's toy, and crammed into a little box."²⁵ He was not the only foreigner to notice the toylike character of American towns.

And despite the fact that the introduction of elevators in 1868 encouraged the development of skyscrapers, the buildings most admired by our foreign visitors in the last years of the century were wooden country dwellings and the new Italian adaptations then so popular. The historian Edward A. Freeman, for instance, coming to the United States in 1881, was captivated by the style of Pisa and Lucca, "the style of the simple round arch and column" which he found in the street architecture of several cities. In New York the general effect of Broadway struck him "as just what the main street of a great commercial city ought to be," and the Capitol at Albany convinced him that this Italianate architecture was indeed the ideal style for America²⁶.



FIG. 6. — PAUL J. WOOLF. — Fifth Avenue, photograph.

23. *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, in NEVINS, *op. cit.*

24. *Men and Manners in America*, (1833), 197.

25. *American Notes*, 1842.

26. *Some Impressions of the U. S.*, pp. 207 ff.



FIG. 7. — PAUL J. WOOLF. — "Darkness and Lighted Windows," photograph.

On the other hand, Matthew Arnold, about the same time, found almost nothing to please him in our cities. He admitted that we had one architect of genius — Richardson. But, said Arnold, "much of his work was injured by the conditions under which he was obliged to execute it. I can recall but one building, and that of no great importance, where he seems to have had his own way, to be

fully himself; but that is indeed excellent. In general, where the Americans succeed best in their architecture . . . is in the fashion of their villa-cottages in wood. These are . . . original and at the same time . . . pleasing."²⁷

* * *

With Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins, and Albert Ryder we reach the third period of American art — for those artists were wholly free of European influences.

The English writer Hind considered Homer the greatest painter of the sea who ever lived. "He was cast in heroic mold," wrote Hind. "He stands with Walt Whitman entirely and racially American." Homer was appreciated in Paris as early as 1867 when, for the first time, Americans taking part in the International Exhibition had a small gallery to themselves. The American sentiment in his work was praised again in 1878, even though the French critics found technical shortcomings. At the Exhibition of 1900 he received a gold medal, and his *Summer Night* was bought for the state collection of the Luxembourg, where Monet was among those who admired it. But the most interesting foreign opinion of Homer is perhaps that of Arnold Bennett. The famous novelist had often heard of the painter, one of the objects of his trip to the United States in 1912 being to see these pictures; but seeing them brought disappointment for the oils seemed "theatrical and violent in conception, rather conventional in design, and repellent in color." The water-colors, however, were clearly masterpieces. "They were beautiful."

27. MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Civilization in the United States*, 1888, Part IV.

27a. PAUL MANTZ, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, September 1867.

wrote Bennett. "They thrilled; they were genuine American; there is nothing else like them."²⁸ (Fig. 4).

The authorities of the Louvre, on seeing the work of Eakins for the first time, at once bought an example of it. The critic of "l'Illustration" (1938) thought that of all Americans only Homer and Eakins had remained *wholly* independent. The critic of "Candide", not caring for Homer, wrote: "Eakins touches us more; his strength, his primitive sincerity exclude him from accepted formulas." However, it is only fair to add that André Villeboeuf, another Parisian art commentator, called Eakins "nothing but a dry analyst of a cold atmosphere."

As for Albert Ryder, his careful working out of design has greatly appealed to those foreign observers familiar with his pictures. He is not so well known in Europe as Homer, Whistler, or Sargent, yet he has had his admirers, among them C. Lewis Hind, Roger Fry, and Odilon Redon. Redon, knowing Ryder's works only through the reproductions that Walter Pach showed him, was impressed by their first-rate composition rather than by their mysticism²⁹. Yet it was the latter quality that struck Raymond Escholier who wrote in "Le Journal" in 1938: "In this romantic we find both Edgar Poe and Odilon Redon."

Lack of opportunity to see the best of our work is surely one reason for the indifference and condescension toward American painters that one sometimes finds abroad. Now that our artists no longer spend years in European study and residence, as they once did, it is natural that they should enjoy less fame.

There have been a few one-man shows of Americans in Paris. Some of the moderns also sent work to the Paris Salons before the war and to the international



FIG. 8. — PAUL J. WOLFF. — "The classical serenity of Washington," photograph.

28. *Your United States*, p. 167 ff.

29. Mentioned by WALTER PACH in: *Queer Thing, Painting*, New York, 1938, 61 ff.

exhibitions in that city and in Venice. In 1912 Hugo Reisinger took a group of our pictures to London and Berlin. The Luxembourg showed our contemporary art in 1919 — one of a series of shows representing all the Allies of the first World War — but it was not a satisfactory selection and French critics regretted the exclusion of our earlier artists.

When Paulanship's sculpture was exhibited at a London gallery in 1921, Sir Claude Phillips wrote in the "Daily Telegraph": "Manship has, as it were, at his finger-ends the archaic, the ripe Greek, the archaistic; and uses them with great ease and charm to express his own conceptions. These . . . are realized with a vivacious truth that comes from individual vision even more than from closely reasoned interpretation of the subject."

Paris remained almost entirely unaware of our artistic progress. The year 1923 brought an exhibit in the French capital of watercolors by Winslow Homer, John Sargent, and Dodge Macknight, together with sculpture by Paul Manship, already represented in the Luxembourg. The public gave it sympathetic attention. In 1926 the National Gallery of Berlin included work by our men in a group with young Germans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen. But Europe on the whole continued to believe that America had only material and scientific contributions to make — not cultural ones.

In a strong effort to combat this attitude, the French magazine "Formes" devoted to American art its entire issue of January, 1932. A Belgian art critic, Jean Milo, wrote in the "American Magazine of Art" of September, 1935, that Belgian circles had been surprised and disappointed that the United States had not taken part in the Brussels World Exhibition of that year, making it impossible for them "to establish a long-delayed contact with American contemporary art. Very little, if anything at all, is known about it in Belgium . . . There has never been an exhibition of American contemporary art in Belgium, where there are so many true amateurs and so many artists curious to see what is being done elsewhere." Milo hoped they would have one very soon.

It was not until 1938 that Paris (at the Jeu de Paume Museum) had its first chance at a really inclusive, large American exhibit when the New York Museum of Modern Art sent over a collection made up of early and recent work in all fields (Figs. 10-12).

And at about the same time London at the Wildenstein gallery had a show of paintings by forty-two contemporary Americans. The results, as far as the reactions of the press were concerned, were not very encouraging. Nevertheless, our folk art was found original and some of the later work was singled out as interesting and sincere.

The war has made it increasingly difficult to repeat such overseas exhibitions. Even in the cases of countries not occupied by Axis armies, there is enough danger to make artists hesitate to risk sending their best pictures. In spite of this factor,



FIG. 9. — PAUL J. WOOLF. — New York by Night, photograph.

three hundred United States paintings returned safely last summer from a trip of 50,000 miles throughout Central and South America. The Latin American press was most enthusiastic, devoting editorials and feature articles to the exhibit, as well as news columns. Many radio talks were given in connection with the tour.

A more concrete evidence of Latin American approval is the fact that in 1942 George Biddle and his sculptress wife, Helène Sardeau, were commissioned to decorate the walls of the Rio de Janeiro National Library with murals, bas-relief, and sculpture in the round. A similar commission for Mexico City followed in 1944.

The latest attempt to show our works abroad is the Artists for Victory exhibition planned for London in 1944. These two hundred paintings, sculpture, and prints are supposed to represent a cross-section of contemporary American art, conservative, radical, and middle-of-the-road. It was not easy to assemble such a collection in wartime; it may have been done too hurriedly; and one can understand the reluctance of artists to send their best on a sea trip. Yet when the collection was shown in New York in March 1944 it seemed regrettable that Britain should have a rather limited opportunity to judge our contemporary expression, and perhaps it is just as well that lack of shipping has caused a postponement. There will now be time to include some noteworthy men who had been omitted previously.

Of still more value is the fact that increasing numbers of cultivated foreigners come to the United States. This was beginning to be true even before the advent of Hitler and the outbreak of war. Now many famous artists and art dealers have taken refuge here. The eventual effect of adding these educated, gifted refugees to our population belongs to the future and need not concern us here. But even now there is a growing appreciation of individual American artists.

As long ago as 1912, C. Lewis Hind expressed his esteem for Rockwell



FIG. 10. — CONCETTA SCARAVAGLIONE. — Girl reading, terra cotta. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Kent whom he called "that art child of Winslow Homer and William Blake."³⁰ Later, after seeing the *Winter* in the Metropolitan, he decided that at last he had found "a direct racial American picture, . . . powerful, forceful, . . . simple." (Fig. 5).

About the same time, the work of Arthur B. Davies strongly attracted another Englishman, A. W. Bahr. "Here was imagination, quality, beauty, a satisfying expression," Bahr wrote. "He shared the spirit and observation of the great Chinese tradition and understood the eloquence of empty space."³¹

George C. Ault was discovered by C. L. Hind in 1921, when Hind was here as editor of "International Studio."

The German critic Meier-Graefe preferred John Marin to all others when he paid the United States a visit in 1928. Marcel Duchamp, celebrated creator of the *Nude Descending the Stairs*, is fond of Charles Sheeler's work.

Jean Charlot singled out Eilshemius and Watkins, calling Eilshemius the greatest American painter of his generation and saying that "the freshness and clarity of his early landscapes are little short of a miracle." Watkins' mural *Man Crushed by the Machine* he called a "humanistic work that linked him through Delacroix to the great Venetians, reminding one forcibly of Tintoretto."³²

When the forty-two Americans were shown in London in 1938, T. W. Earp spoke of McFee's "thoughtful design," while Eric Newton of the "Sunday Times" cited Benton as an artist who had stayed in America and looked at life. Charles Burchfield, too, appealed to British critics. The "Daily Mail," for instance, found that he "beautifully renders the small town made familiar for us by novelists such as Sinclair Lewis."^{32a} "John Steuart Curry's *My Mother and Father*," said "The Scotsman," "is a strong, frank, characterful conversation piece." And *Night Club* by Guy Pene Du Bois was hailed by Eric Newton as a painting by a man whose eyes "are turned resolutely away from Europe," while Edward Hopper's *Ryder's House* was noted as "suggesting a peculiarly American way of looking at things; letting facts speak for themselves, but with an awareness of their novelty in painting."

George Barnard's sculpture won recognition in Paris as soon as it was shown

30. *Landscape Painting*, London, 1924, pp. 311-312.

31. Int. to Cat., Exhibition of Early & Middle Periods of Work of Arthur B. Davies, N. Y., 1939, 2.

32. JEAN CHARLOT, *Art From the Mayas to Disney*, 1939, 161, 163, 180.

32a. This and other criticisms are included in: EDWARD ALDEN JEWELL, *Have We an American Art?*, 48-64.

there. A replica of his *Lincoln*, despised in America, found a welcome home at Manchester, England.

Maurice Prendergast, George Bellows, John Sloan, Robert Henri, Max Weber, and Adolph Dehn have also been hailed as among the most significant of our moderns.

* * *

Greater than any of our painters and sculptors in foreign eyes is the architect Frank Lloyd Wright. His influence on the continent of Europe has been tremendous, especially in Holland and Germany. In fact, as Douglas Haskell reminds us, a whole generation of architects, from Germany to Japan, have acknowledged him as perhaps the most distinguished living master. The Imperial Hotel in Tokio testifies to Japanese recognition of his genius.

Many Englishmen seem to prefer McKim, Mead & White and the small wooden houses of an earlier day. Arnold Bennett, for instance, like the University Club better than any other building in New York and loved being reminded of Florence by the cornices of Fifth Avenue (Fig. 6). Let our own writers, with the exception of Royal Cortissoz and Talbot Hamlin, sneer at them as outmoded and academic; to Bennett New York was first and last the city of magnificent cornices. He thought that America might be very proud of having produced Stanford White and "the incomparable McKim." The skyscraper impressed him as an idea, not as an architectural achievement. He admitted that the Metropolitan Life Building was tremendous — "a grand sight, but an ugly sight. The actual designers of the building did not rise to the height of it; and if any poetry is left in it, it is not their fault."³³

Our tall buildings were more to the taste of Gilbert K. Chesterton, who came over in 1922. Yet by far "the freshest and most curious characteristic of American architecture," he felt, lay in the small wooden houses, forests of them stretching

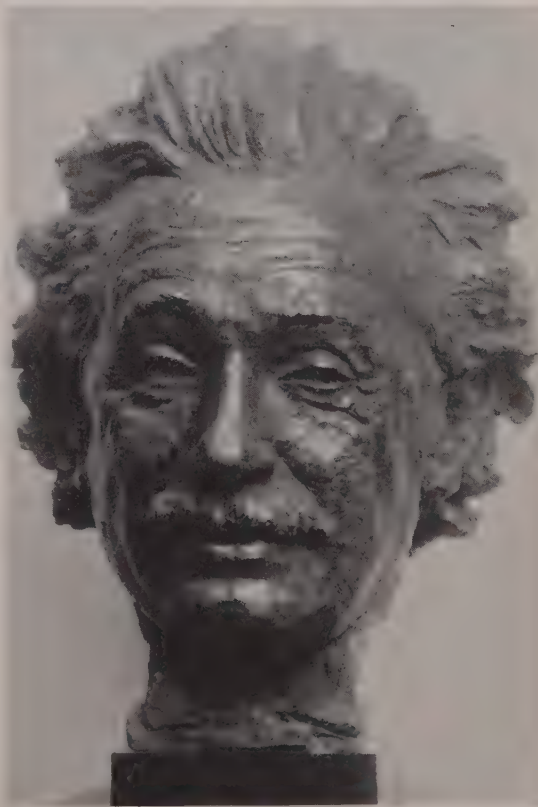


FIG. 11. — JO DAVIDSON. — ALBERT EINSTEIN, bronze. — Whitney Museum of Art, New York. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

33. *Op. cit.*, 27 ff.



FIG. 17. — ALEXANDER CALDER. — Cow. — Coll. George Pratt, Jr., Bridgewater, Conn. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

away to the horizon as one saw them from the trains. "There is," he wrote³⁴, "behind all this fresh and facile use of wood a certain spirit that is childish in the good sense of the word, . . . innocent and easily pleased." And in Washington he loved the whiteness of the White House, as well as "the classical serenity" of the whole city (Fig. 8).

The artist Wyndham Lewis, who wrote a book about America as late as 1940, found indescribable beauty, for similar reasons, in a baroque and rustic wooden villa, with deep verandas and eaves, and he liked the little streets of brownstone houses, the charming remains of "little old New York", linking the big central avenues with the East River.

But New York at night, with its clusters of towers, was best of all (Fig. 9). Seen from a river pent house, it seemed "a great wall of night — darkened architectural giants, baroquely studded with chains and columns of lights." It was perfectly barbaric. It was all done with scale, darkness and lighted windows (Fig. 7). "It has only been painted once — properly: by O'Keefe."³⁵

In closing, it seems appropriate to quote what Piloty once said to William Chase: "Yours will yet be the great country of artists and art lovers. Everything points to it. You have the subjects and you have the great inspiration of the place where life is being lived. The future is to America. It is not merely that it is the land of opportunity, but also because it is the land where opportunity is seized and utilized."³⁶

RUTH L. BENJAMIN.

34. *What I Saw in America*, 80-82.

35. *America, I Presume*, 67-72, 274 ff.

36. J. WALKER McSPADEN, *Famous Painters of America*, 350.



AN UNUSUAL CHINESE BRONZE SCULPTURE

THE THREE GOVERNORS OF TAOISM

DURING the last months of 1943, the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco exhibited the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Frank George Marcus of the same city under the title "Archaic Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Small Bronzes and Jades". The second section included a statuette (Fig. 1-2) which is without parallel among the photographically published antiquities of China. Consequently, its date and meaning cannot be identified with the usual ease, although the writer hopes that the following deductions will prove convincing.

The object is composed of three figurative parts. A tapering band and an upturned animal top provide a hollow but solid looking base, which represents a fish-head with incised wrinkles at the corners of the mouth, a beard hanging from the lower lip and four lobed frames above the eyes. Two of these characteristics—the wrinkles and the beard—may be discovered on a bronze suspension lamp in the form of a fish supporting a bird¹ although in this instance they are modeled instead of incised. The next component of the statuette is a snake, inserted into the mouth of a fish. Its body ascends towards the horizontal head in a double curve, leaning slightly backwards. A bird with a long and hanging tail, most likely a pheasant, rests on the neck of the snake. Its deco-

ration consists of small, overlapping scales for the shoulder plumage and long chevron bands for the tail feathers. To achieve a three-dimensional effect, the axis of each animal is crossed at a right angle by that of the following one. Furthermore, the pheasant enhances the movement in depth by a slight turn and an inclination of the head.

The realistic rendering of the figures excludes the statuette from the archaic periods. Even the fish lamp of the Oppenheim collection just mentioned must be later than Late Chou, the date suggested by Umehara². Aside from the meaning which will be taken into account presently, only a technical detail can be considered as indicative of the period: this is the heavy fire-gilding, which shows black spots wherever the coat has been rubbed off. Many Buddhist bronzes determine such a surface as typical of the T'ang period (618-906). It can however not be overlooked that the preceding description of the animals and their T'ang date are challenged by the *Hsi-ch'ing Ku-chien*³, the catalogue of bronzes owned by the Ch'ien lung Emperor, published in 1749. In that publication, a drawing (book 38, p. 19) repeats the general outline of our three-animal statuette (Fig. 3); the object is designated as a staff-finial and assigned to Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. In this, as in all following instances, the transcription modified by Professor H. H. Dubs, of Duke University, is given, since it prevents mispronunciation. Pronounced SI-JING GU-JIEN.

1. Collection H. Oppenheim, London. Reproduced in: S. UMEHARA, *China Kodo Seikwa*, Osaka, 1933, part III, vol. I, pl. 2.

B. Laufer reproduced it after the Chinese publication⁴. The well-preserved object in the Marcus Collection once more proves the frequently suspected unreliability of the old Chinese bronze catalogues. One may explain the mistakes of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's designer by suggesting that he faced an object in a deteriorated condition. Thus, forced to rely on his imagination, he transformed the eye-frame of the fish-head into ram's horns and the snake into a simple perch. The fact that the finial looks more like a pigeon than a pheasant may be disregarded, since a change in the species of the bird would not affect the identity of purpose, meaning and date, which is certainly shared by both statuettes. Finally, the Han attribution may have been an unjustified flattery of the Emperor's possession. At any rate, it will be eliminated by the following identification of the symbolism implied.

There is no illustration whatever to trace the way to such an identification. The animal combination of the statuette has no place in the traditional or Buddhist repertoires, illustrated by the vast majority of T'ang gilt bronze figurines. However, a clue can be found in the description of sanctuaries on Mount T'ai given by E. Chavannes⁵. There, the French scholar mentions the pavilion of the Jade Emperor Yü-huang Ko (pronounced Yü-huang Go) a Taoist sanctuary erected during the reign of the Ming Wan li reign-period (1573-1619). The vault of this building serves for the worship of the "San-Kuan" (pronounced San-guan), the three governors of heaven, earth and water. In a footnote, Chavannes goes into further details concerning this trinity, unfortunately without mentioning his source. According to him, the group originated during the Hsi p'ing period (172-177). At that time, the founder of a Taoist sect invited sick persons to write their names and sins down in triplicate, and to offer one such document to heaven by depositing it on a mountain, another to earth, by burying it, and the third to the sea, by throwing it into the water. Then "the three governors" would take care of the sickness. Chavannes' description of the vault implies that these deities appear there in human form. To be able to extend the same meaning to the three animals of the statuette

under discussion, it is necessary to prove that human and animal aspects are interchangeable. This can be done by quoting further from the Chavannes monography⁶. In the compound of the Tai-miao (pronounced Dai-miao), the temple dedicated to the deity of the T'ai mountain, the French scholar encountered the colossal statues of two warriors, one representing the white tiger of the West, the other the green dragon of the East. Although the description gives no information concerning their date, they are most likely of Ming origin or of a later era. Since these sculptures reproduce two of the four quarter symbols commonly represented as animals during the Han period and those which followed it⁷, the substitution of the "three governors", which were originally animals, by human figures on the Mount T'ai follows an even more conspicuous precedent.

It is very probable that the text consulted by Chavannes was again used by H. Doré⁸, who described the Taoist cure with the same words as Chavannes and referred it to the same period and person.

Before the conclusion of this study, the writer had the great satisfaction of finding his deductions supported by Professor H. H. Dubs, of Duke University, who kindly provided additional information on the subject. He translated a passage from the San-Kuo-chin (pronounced San-guo-jzh), containing the biography of a Han Taoist. The dates of his life, the inauguration of the *Three governors* by him and the description of the cure connected with this trinity coincide with Chavannes' note and Doré's reference to such an extent that the San-Kuo-chih (pronounced San-guo-jzh) may have been their source. Another contribution of Professor Dubs to this study is provided by the P'ei-wen Yün fu, a collection of quotations completed in 1711 and containing a phrase from a lost work, which is antecedent to the year 983. The pertinent sentence reads: "The God of Mount T'ai has on his left the Fire God Huo-Kuan (pronounced Huo-guan), on his right the Water God, Shui-Kuan (pronounced Shui-guan), and also the Female God, Nü-Kuan (pronounced Nü-guan); they are called the three governors, san-Kuan". Professor Dubs

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

7. See: W. COHN, *The Deities of the Four Cardinal Points in Chinese Art*, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1940-41, London 1942.

8. *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1914, vol. VI, p. 16.

4. *The Bird Chariot in China and Europe*, Boas Anniversary volume, New York 1906, p. 419, fig. 27.

5. *Le T'ai Chan, Essai de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois*, Paris, 1910, p. 92.



FIG. 1. — T'ANG PERIOD, 618-906 A.D. — Statuette, gilt bronze, height 6¾". — Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Frank George Marcus, San Francisco, Calif. Photo. Courtesy Albert J. Wiley, New York.



FIG. 2. — T'ANG PERIOD, 618-906 A.D. — Statuette, gilt bronze, height 6¾". — Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Frank George Marcus, San Francisco, Calif. Photo. Courtesy Albert J. Wiley, New York.



FIG. 3. — Drawing from the *Hsi-ch'ing Ku-chien*, (Catalogue of bronzes owned by the Ch'ien lung Emperor, published in 1749).

points out that he translates "Kuan" by "God", but that the word also means "power" and "governor". He indicates that fire might easily be equated with heaven and represented by a bird, and water by a fish, while the female principle corresponds to earth and can be depicted by a snake.

Thus the interpretation of the three-animal statuette as an image of the *Three governors* is confirmed by a nearly contemporaneous text. The T'ang date fits well into the religious trend of that period. In support of this point, Professor Dubs writes: "The T'ang rulers were much inclined to Taoism, especially at first". It stands to reason that the artistic representation of such a symbolic group

was a self-sufficient statuette used as a charm against sickness and placed in the house or grave, and not a staff-handle, as suggested by the *Hsi-ch'ing Ku-chien*.

To summarize the findings concerned with the interpretation and identification of the meaning of this gilt bronze figurine, the writer wishes to quote once more from Professor Dubs' letters: "This representation of three animals may very well have been a means of curing disease by appealing to heaven, earth and water. The notion strikes me very forcibly as an interesting bit of folklore turned into art".

ALFRED SALMONY.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE BELAS ARTES. Inventário Artístico de Portugal. Distrito de Portalegre. Lisboa, Bertrand, 1943. vol. I. 11 x 9. 171 pp., 1380 plates and 25 plans.

A catalogue to be really useful must be available between the covers of a printed book. This is as true of a photographic archive as it is of a bibliography or a catalogue of a collection. The more fully such a published catalogue is annotated the more useful it will be. Recognizing this fact, the Portuguese Academy of Fine Arts has begun to publish a monumental guide to its archive of photographs of Portuguese art, the Inventário Artístico de Portugal. This collection, covering the period from the Roman occupation to the XIX century, has been assembled by the academicians themselves in the last few years under the able leadership of their president, Dr. Reynaldo dos Santos.

The first volume, devoted to Portalegre, one of the 18 political districts into which Portugal is divided, will prove invaluable not only to historians of art but to all students of Portuguese culture, whether on the mainland, in Brazil, or in the farflung Atlantic and oriental domains. Not only is the material with which it deals unusually varied but the text of Luis Keil provides a wealth of subsidiary information.

The district of Portalegre, which extends from Montalvão in the north to the Guadiana River in the south, is that central eastern zone paralleling the Spanish frontier which is known as the Alto Alentejo. It contains two major towns, Elvas and Portalegre, a number of smaller settlements important in the medieval struggles with Spain, and the seat of one great military Order, Avis.

As Senhor Keil explains in his excellent introduction, the Portalegre district is not one of the richest artistic regions of the country. It has neither the Romanesque churches and monasteries of the north, the great Manueline monuments of the central zone, the exotic Mudejar buildings of the lower Alentejo, the profusion of Renaissance sculptures of Coimbra, or the Baroque masterpieces of the court at Lisbon. This scarcity of great monuments, the compiler points out, is the result of centuries of frontier instability, for it was not until the XIX century that the menace of invasion was over. During this long period only a handful of important constructions were undertaken, as Senhor Keil's careful analysis of some 336 buildings demonstrates, and there were no important

local schools of craftsmen to influence the artistic development of the rest of the country. Only one regional characteristic is notable in the local architecture—the use of a lofty tower beside some of the late medieval and Renaissance town halls of the Alto Alentejo. Unlike many of the urban *campanili* of North Italy, these towers are attached to the buildings which they serve. Most of the constructions are of local granite, but in the south the imported marbles of Estremoz and Vila Viçosa are abundant. The houses of Castelo-de-Vide preserve a unique series of doorways from the XIV to the XVI centuries and at Portalegre there is an imposing group of XVII and XVIII century palaces in the true Portuguese provincial Baroque.

Within the corpus of material which this volume offers certain works of art are outstanding. At Vila-Formosa there is a fine large Roman bridge remarkably preserved. The cathedrals of Portalegre and Elvas have fine XVI century construction and the latter possesses a rare tower in the center of its facade which can be identified as the work of Francisco de Arruda and Diogo Mendes. The XVIII century church of S. João Baptista (1734-1747) at Campo Maior, severely designed in possible reminiscence of Juan de Herrera, has an unusual polygonal interior. At Elvas there is the massive aqueduct of Amoreira (1498-1622) which is a worthy forerunner of Manuel da Maia's masterpiece in Lisbon.

But the greatest treasures of the Alto Alentejo are in the Convent of S. Bernardo of Portalegre. The Renaissance portal is a monument of breathtaking elegance. The tomb of Bishop Jorge de Melo, of about 1540, ranks with the greatest creations of the school of Rouen in Coimbra, at Óbidos, and at Cintra. Beside these little known glories of Portuguese art the author rightly places the XVII century polychrome tiles of the sacristy of the cathedral and the church of the Dominican convent of Elvas, a reliquary of the Constable Dom Pedro of about 1450 at Avis, and the 1544 monstrance of Amieira, which is preserved in a church at Nisa.

The thoroughness of the volume's inventory is wholly admirable. Paintings, sculptures, and minor arts from other European countries encountered in these Alentejan churches are included with the works of national provenience, thus greatly increasing the usefulness of this catalogue for students. The photographs, which are lavishly provided, are almost all satisfactorily reproduced and include many details. There are plans of all the

most important buildings. But what is most impressive of all is the text itself. Almost every item is accompanied by a thorough description and a concise history. There are individual bibliographies of many of the works of art and the names of present owners are recorded. Senhor Keil's scholarship affords a sound standard for comparing the art of this region with other parts of Portugal and Europe.

After reading this first volume of the series one realizes how just is Reynaldo dos Santos' phrase in describing it—"the dictionary of plastic Portuguese". It is an exciting experience to find in some isolated building of the Alto Alentejo the model for a detail in a colonial chapel of Minas Gerais in Brazil. How many more opportunities to understand the similarities with Brazil and the dissimilarities with the colonies of the East there will be when the series is complete. In evaluating such a distinguished piece of work the reader is full of admiration for the steadfast determination with which in spite of the War the Academy has worked to achieve its goal and gratitude to the Portuguese state which so generously supplied the funds to support the undertaking.

ROBERT C. SMITH

FLORENTINO PÉREZ EMBID—*El Mudejarismo en la Arquitectura Portuguesa de la Época Manuelina*.—Sevilla, Laboratorio de Arte de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1944. 10 x 7, 202 pp., 65 pl.

In 1932 at Pontigny a Spanish critic, Eugenio D'Ors, first suggested that the Convent of Christ at Tomar and other Manueline monuments of Portugal were not, as was generally believed, a last breath of the dying Gothic style but rather an early manifestation of the European Baroque. Now another Spaniard has made a further contribution toward the revaluation of the Manueline style. In an important new study Señor Pérez Embid reaffirms D'Ors' theory but points out that these proto-Baroque qualities of dynamic space and dramatic naturalism are in reality confined to a few buildings of the court of Dom Manuel I. Much of the architecture of the early XVI century in Portugal was a product of conventional Gothic and Renaissance forms, like the contemporary Spanish Plateresque. At the same time Portugal, like Spain, had a Moorish or Mudejar variation, which when occasionally combined with influences from the architecture of the court, can be called a Manueline-Mudejar style. Portuguese buildings of Moorish character, the Palace at Sintra and a group of houses and churches in the southeastern province of Alentejo, are the subject of this book.

Señor Pérez Embid's investigation is valuable for its thorough stylistic analysis of the buildings studied rather than for any new information on their dating or their authorship. He wisely avoids too positive interpretation of the scant documents now available and concentrates on materials, techniques, and decoration in order to establish those basic characteristics that make the regional style.

Portugal has no important authentic buildings of the period of the Moorish occupation. The Palace at Sintra near Lisbon is the best example of that subsequent pseudo-Moorish construction, which in Spain is called

Mudejar. Sintra is closely related to the Moorish architecture of Andalusia and the Mudejar of that Spanish region. Yet, as the author points out, there is not a single instance at Sintra of the characteristic Moorish horseshoe arch. The brickwork, wooden ceilings, tiles, and plaster decorations of Dom Manuel's construction he explains as a result of the monarch's close family connections with the Spanish court. But why the king should have favored this expression of Spanish architecture rather than the more "royal" style of Isabellian Gothic he does not explain. In the windows which Dom Manuel added to his palace about 1518 the author finds the closest parallel with the contemporary regional architecture of the Alentejo.

There, in the zones of Evora, Alvito, and Beja between the early 1480's and 1510, when the court deserted the region, a more original expression of Mudejar building was developed. A principal motif is the prominent window or door consisting of coupled arches, either horseshoe or round, framed by an ogee molding with extended colonettes at the sides. This rich decorative arrangement appeared first at Evora and from there spread to other parts of the province. This is the form of the 1518 windows at Sintra. Other characteristics of the local style are found only in the Alentejo.

These original features consist of conical towers (not to be confused with the conical chimneys at Sintra), brick fretwork in the intrados of an arch, and two delightful early XVI century country houses, Sempre Noiva and Agua de Peixes, which are compact two story constructions with exterior lateral stairs surmounted by roofs of three slopes and frequent Moorish details in windows and doors. In all the Alentejan monuments contrasting tones of granite and marble are substituted for the usual Mudejar opulence of brilliantly colored tiles and plaster. This somber tendency increased to actual grimness in the most original feature of all, the *iglesias torreadas*.

These simple, single aisle churches are remarkable for the cylindrical buttresses capped by spiral cones which surround their exteriors, for their prominent porches, and chamfered battlements. Some eleven in all, they derive from the Chapel of SS. Braz in Evora, and can be dated from about 1482 to approximately 1520. Seen at a distance, they suggest a medieval city or castle wall in miniature. There is no reason to believe that they were intended for fortifications and their superficial resemblance to the fortified churches of southern France vanishes in the light of their Mudejar details of decoration. The origin of the cylindrical tower, which is the essence of their originality, is as much a mystery as that of the round and oval towers of the XVIII century churches of Minas Gerais in Brazil. Señor Pérez Embid calls attention to the contemporary use of cylindrical towers at Guadalupe and other Spanish sites near the Alentejo but does not, unfortunately, strengthen his comparison by providing any photographs or detailed descriptions of the Spanish examples. Instead he directs the reader to consult reference works which are not readily available abroad, but warns that the architecture of the Spanish southern Extramadura has never been thoroughly studied. The importance of this relationship and the restricted field of his research would seem to have justified, if not

rendered imperative, a personal investigation of the problem of these Spanish churches for presentation in this book.

The absence of authoritative information in this matter is the more regrettable when we consider Pérez Embid's suggestion that the whole Mudejar movement in the Alentejo derives from the activity in this Portuguese province of some unknown Spanish builder with Mudejar training. In reality his thesis of Spanish influence is a more plausible explanation than either the theory that the style is a reincarnation of some local Moorish architectural tradition, for no vestiges of such a tradition have survived, or that the manner was imported directly from North Africa in the XV or XVI centuries. Pérez Embid shows that Moorish influences in the Alentejo are too tenuous to support such a claim and that no attempt to prove direct contact between Islamic and Portuguese art, even that of the court, has yet been successful. It would have been wiser, however, in defining his thesis of Spanish influence to have omitted the risky hypothesis, unsupported by documentation, of the presence of an immigrant builder from Spain. Portuguese craftsmen also travelled and could just as easily have brought the seeds of the movement from beyond the frontier.

One cannot praise too highly the clarity with which the author divides into currents the stream of Manueline development or the careful scheme by which he analyses the Mudejar current. The publication is a welcome sign of the growing interest of Spanish scholars in Portuguese things and adds luster to the record of the young and distinguished Sevillian Laboratorio de Arte which sponsored it.

ROBERT C. SMITH

The Contribution of Holland to the Sciences. A Symposium edited by A. J. BARNOUW and B. LANDHEER. With an introduction by P. DEBEYE.—New York, Querido, 1943, front., XVII—373 p., 13 ill.

No record can as well serve the prestige of a country as that of its scientific and cultural accomplishments. The men who have assembled and published, in a handy, elegantly edited volume, the plain record of Holland's contribution to the sciences have thus paid a singularly helpful tribute to the cause of their native land at one of the most tragic moments of its history.

Far from being discarded in this gathering of scientific material, the history of art has found in this volume its rightful place. And one would not expect less from the small land which—along its sleepy bluish canals, around its greenish fields adorned with polychrome crowds of tulips, under the unique symphony of lights endlessly displayed in its transparent waters and skies—has provided the world with some of its most significant artistic appearances.

Rembrandt and Ver Meer have been the best ambassadors of Dutch Supremacy. And even, more recently, Van Gogh, justly as he may be claimed by France for his inheritance of French genius, inevitably remains an outburst of the same soil. But the chapter devoted to the history of art in the volume under discussion deliberately does not deal with anything but the Dutch science and literature which art has given birth to. There could hardly be a better author to make such a roundup than

Mr. Frits Lugt in whom are so well united the poetical qualities of the true art connoisseur with the patient inquisitiveness and accuracy of the man to whom our science owes such valuable handbooks as his *Marques de Collections* and *Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes*. For that forcibly small chapter, Mr. Lugt has written quite an extensive short story of the whole history of art in the Netherlands, from Carel Van Mander, the Dutch Vasari, to the latest achievements in The Hague National Art Reference Library placed under the excellent direct rship of Mr. H. Schneider, and to such brilliant museum activities as those carried on, until the very eve of the war, by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam or the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam, thanks to its dynamic director, Mr. D. Hannema.

ASSIA R. VISSON

Approaches to World Peace, fourth symposium, edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, ROBERT M. MACIVER.—New York, Harper Brothers, 1944. (Published by the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc.)

Those whose life is spent within the boundaries of the art world will be equally pleased to see that art has been given its rightful place in this most interesting gathering of various highly authoritative views and comments as expressed upon the vital problems of World peace at the Conference on science, philosophy and religion in their relation to the democratic way of life.

We are many who consider art as one of the best assets for peaceful world organization. We are many who believe that our artists and artistic achievements, and the very atmosphere within which they evolve, assure the most efficient embassies of their countries' prestige and the strongest friendly ties between foreign countries. We are many who live with that conviction and with a deep faith in the power of that asset. But we have to realize and confess that we still are only a minority. That we still have to wait for a full and general understanding of the large part art is playing, and of the ever-growing part it may play, in a more decent and better organization of human life under the present social and political circumstances.

Such studies as presented and discussed here greatly help the promoting of such understanding. Some of them are signed by the "Gazette's" contributors or friends. Those essays of which we can only give here the titles—but they speak for themselves and perfectly suggest the value that, as we have shown, should be attached to these articles—are: *Can the arts help toward international unity?* by WILLIAM G. CONSTABLE, discussed by ARNOLD DRESDEN, CHARLES R. MOREY, EMMANUEL WINTERNITZ and FILMER S. C. NORTHROP; *Art as a means to unify mankind*, by CHARLES R. MOREY, discussed by WALTER PACH and ARNOLD DRESDEN.

All that should be emphasized here is the happy way in which such studies as these are helping the arts to be introduced on the active political scene, an introduction which undoubtedly will lead to the accomplishment of their effective humanitarian and civilizing mission on that scene.

A. R. V.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

WOLFGANG BORN, who studied history of art under Heinrich Wölfflin in Munich and under Josef Strzygowski in Vienna, has been Director of Art at Maryville College, St. Louis, Mo., since 1937. He has published studies on: *The Dream in Odilon Redon's Graphic Art*, *The Graphic Conception of Goethe's Artistic World*, *The Animal in the North Russian Book—Illumination*, *Gothic Painting in Austria*, *Small Objects of Semiprecious Stone from the Mughal Period*, *Ancient Forgeries of Works of Art*, and, recently, in the "Gazette", an article on *Spiral Towers*. He was a contributor of the volumes issued by the Seminarium Kondakovianum in Prague. His article in this issue deals with *Samson and the Lion, A Scottish Relief with Iranian Affiliations* page 257

FRITS LUGT, from 1901 to 1915 associated with the auctioneering firm of Frederik Muller and Company, Amsterdam, has been since 1922, Attache to the Louvre Museum for the Department of Dutch and Flemish drawings. The Dutch National Art Reference Library at The Hague owes much to his staunch support. The principal of his published works are: *Wandelingen met Rembrandt in en om Amsterdam (1915)*, *Marques de Collections (1921)*, *Repertoire des catalogues de ventes (1938)*. His study in this issue *Man and Angel* page 265 follows the theme throughout the entire course of the history of art.

SCHUYLER VAN R. CAMMANN, M.A. in Oriental History, Harvard University, spent several years living and travelling in China, Northern Indo-China, and Inner Mongolia. He has worked at the West China University Museum cataloguing and labelling their Tibetan collection, one of the most extensive outside of Tibet. He did the same work for several other notable Tibetan collections, including those in the British Museum, Newark Museum, Peabody Museum (Cambridge, Mass.), and has published many articles in this country on Chinese and Tibetan subjects. His field of special study is Tibetan social and religious customs and especially Lamaism, which he studied in such regions as the Mongolian Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan countries where Lamaism is still practiced. His article in this issue on *A Tibetan Painting in the Freer Gallery, The Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru* page 283 is one of the results of this first-hand experience of his with Lamaist art.

RUTH BENJAMIN, who received her B.A. from Barnard College, Columbia University and engaged in post-graduate work at the New School for Social Research, has been since January of this year an editor of adult education books of The New Home Library. During the period 1920 to 1926 she did historical research for Larned's History for Ready Reference and for the Yale University Press. She was for a time temporary assistant with the American Federation of Arts; in 1935 she prepared a catalogue for the Boudin Exhibition of the Chicago Art Institute, and two years later her book on *Eugene Boudin* was published. She has travelled extensively in Europe, and has devoted herself to a study of museums there as well as in this country. Her contributions to art magazines include such articles as *Women Painters*, *Eugene Boudin*, *Can We Judge Contemporary Art?* To this same field of study belongs her article in the current issue: *American Art Through Foreign Eyes* page 299

ALFRED SALMONY, who writes in this issue on: *An Unusual Chinese Bronze Sculpture, The Three Governors of Taoism* page 315 was assistant director of the Koln Museum, which he left in March 1933. During 1933 and 1934 he was associated with the Cernuschi and Citroen Museums in Paris. From 1934 to 1938 he was lecturer on Oriental Art at Mills College, and from 1938 at Washington (Ames professorship) and New York Universities and at Vassar College. His main field of study is Far Eastern Art and the art of the steppes in its relation to China and Europe. He was editor of "Artibus Asiae", and his principal published works are: *Die Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei*, Berlin, 1920; *Die Chinesische Steinplastik*, Berlin, 1922; *Asiatische Kunst* (with annotations by Paul Palliot), Munich, 1929; *Carved Jades of Ancient China*, Berkeley, 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue page 318 is by ROBERT C. SMITH, assistant director, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and by MRS. ASSIA R. VISSON, associated with the "Gazette" since 1930 and Secretary to its Council.

GAZETTE
DES
BEAUX-ARTS
for 85 years

THE DEAN OF ART REVIEWS

*Published in Paris from 1859 to 1939. Publication
now in its American edition continued in New York
from October 1942*

*Subscription price for the Gazette des Beaux-Arts is
\$12.00 yearly, Single copy \$1.50, published monthly.*

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
GEORGES WILDENSTEIN

19 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

TELEPHONE REGENT 4-3300

140, FAUBOURG ST. HONORÉ, PARIS

*The Gazette des Beaux-Arts is now being published in accordance with the War Production Board order governing
the consumption of paper.*